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HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS AGE;

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THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME

UNDER COMMODUS AND ALEXANDER SEVERUS:

AND

ANCIENT AND MODERN CHRISTIANITY AND DIVINITY COMPARED.

BY CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN,
D.C.L.

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VOL. II.

The Philosophical [illegible]ch.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1852.

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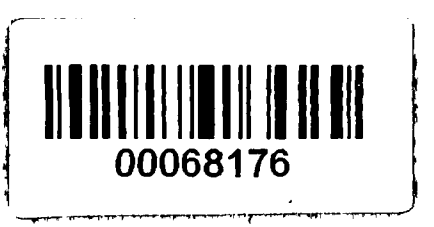

DEDICATED

TO

RICHARD ROTHE.

EINST AUF KAPITOLES HÖHEN KNÜPFTEN WIR DEN HEILGEN BUND,
ALS DU GEISTESKRÄFTIG THATEST DORT DES HERREN WILLEN KUND:
ALS WIR GLÄUBIG UND IM STILLEN BAUTEN DIE GEMEINDE AUF,
DIE DER MENSCHHEIT OPFRUNG WEIHEND EWGES WIRKT IM ZEITENLAUF.

DREISSIG JAHRE, BALD VERFLOSSEN UNTER SORGEN UNTER MÜHN,
SAHEN MANCHE HOFFNUNG SCHWINDEN, FRISCH' UND JUGENDKRAFT VERBLÜHN:
DOCH HAT IMMER SICH BEWÄHRET JUGENDSTREBEN JENER ZEIT,
DAS MIT ERNST UNS WAR GERICHTET AUF DAS ZIEL DER EWIGKEIT.

FEST UND FRISCH IST AUCH GEBLIEBEN UNSRER HERZEN LIEBESBAND,
ZIEHEN BEID' IM GEIST VEREINET NACH DES GEISTES VATERLAND,
WISSEND DASS IN DIESER ERDE HAT GEZÜNDET GEISTES BLITZ,
UND DASS EINST IHR KREIS SOLL WERDEN FREIEN GOTTESREICHES SITZ:

WISSEND AUCH DASS UNSREM VOLKE WARD EIN GÖTTLICH HOHES PFAND,
DASS DER GEIST DES HERREN WEHET NOCH IM GROSSEN VATERLAND,
DASS ER HEILEN WILL WAS SIECHET, EINEN WAS ZERRISSEN WARD,
UND VERKLÄREN SICH AUFS NEUE IN DER FREIEN DEUTSCHEN ART.

WAS NUR SICH GELEBT MUSS SINKEN UNBETRAURT IN TODES FLUTH,
DOCH WAS MENSCHHEIT AUSGEPRÄGET SCHWIMMET IN DER ARCHE HUTH:
WAS IM BILDE, WAS IM TONE, WAS IM WORTE GOTT VERKLÄRT,
LEUCHTET DURCH DER ERDE NÄCHTE, SPÄTESTEN GESCHLECHTERN WERTH.

VON DEM TEMPEL, DEN WIR SCHAUTEN IN DES GLAUBENS MORGENROTH,
HAB' ICH STEINE MIR GERETTET AUS DER ZEITEN BITTREN NOTH:
RICHTE DU, NACH DEINEM BILDE, SELBST DIR AUF DEN WUNDERBAU,
DASS DER GEIST AUCH IN DEN TRÜMMERN NOCH DES URBILDS PLAN ERSCHAU.

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PART I.

PHILOSOPHICAL APHORISMS.

HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS AGE.

APHORISMS

ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, AND IN PARTICULAR ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

I.

PROBLEM, METHODS, AND DIFFICULTIES.

THE noblest nations have ever believed in an immutable moral order of the world, constituted by divine wisdom, and regulating the destinies of mankind; and their wisest men have ever expressed their conviction of the reality of this faith, in different terms, but with marvellous harmony as to the substance.

If this general view of human destinies is right, if the universal faith of humanity, and the holiest aspirations of philosophy, are not delusive, to draw

the picture of an age, is to write a chapter of the universal history of mankind: and what is this, but to recompose a canto of that most sacred epic or dramatic poem, of which God is the poet, humanity the hero, and the historian the prophetical interpreter?

*

Christianity has diffused over the world the idea of the unity of the human race, once the solitary belief of the Jews, and obscured by their national exclusiveness; the historical philosopher, starting from this idea, has been enabled to view the development of mankind in this light of Christianity; the noblest minds of all Christian nations have recognized a visible and traceable progress of the human race towards truth, justice, and intelligence.

*

These two articles of faith, modified by national and confessional differences, may be considered as forming the basis of all the inward, real, and efficacious religious feeling and conviction which exist in the thinking and cultivated minds of the Christian world. Although in particular cases they may be combined with an imperfect Christian belief, they are decidedly Christian; and there cannot be, in any religious society or nation, a real Christian faith, where indifference or materialism has destroyed the acknowledgment of them.

*

If there exists a divine rule of human destiny and

development in the history of mankind, a philosophy of that history must be possible. For there is no divine rule which does not originate in reason, and which is not essentially reason.

He who grants so much, must also allow that the historian, who undertakes to interpret the great hieroglyphic of the times, and restore the stray sibylline leaves of history, ought to believe, with Pindar, in the divinely given beginning and end of man. He must, at least, firmly believe that if there are laws regulating the development of humanity, those laws must be founded in eternal reason.

*

The truly philosophical historian, therefore, will believe that there is an eternal order in the government of the world, to which all might and power are to become, and do become, subservient; that truth, justice, wisdom, and moderation are sure to triumph; and that where, in the history of individual life, the contrary appears to be the case, the fault lies in our mistaking the middle for the end. But there scarcely can be any doubt of this truth in the history of nations. There must be a solution for every complication, as certainly as a dissonance cannot form the conclusion of a musical composition. In other words, the philosopher who will understand and interpret history must really believe that God,

not the devil or his pulchinello, Accident, governs the world.

As far as religion, subjectively, rests upon this belief, ancient literature is more religious than that of the Christian world; unless modern writers on the subject have only too well succeeded in disguising their belief.

The seers of religious Greece certainly were inspired by this faith: the Iliad, as well as that model of novels, the Odyssey, proclaims it loudly. The popular tradition of preceding centuries, upon which the Iliad rests, is founded upon it. This poem, to the formation of which the national mind has contributed no less than the genius of the man to whom we owe the groundwork of it, would have been impossible, if there had not been an instinctive consciousness of these laws. This consciousness had become an esthetic feeling, so that offence against these laws was an outrage upon good taste, a sin against the instinct of humanity. Pindar and all the great lyrical poets believed in a divine Nemesis, but those twins of the tragic Muse, Æschylus and Sophocles, manifest this view of human life in its most universal form. It was their inmost religion, and formed the real centre of the religious feeling of the Hellenic mind. Æschylus was philosophically conscious of its essential truth; for he opposes it

expressly to the terrible "old doctrine," to that despairing view of Asia, according to which, not to be born at all is considered better than existence, and to die better than to live.

That same view of the destinies of man which makes the great poets of Greece the prophets of humanity for all ages, and stamps Herodotus as the first of its historians, shines with heavenly light in the galaxy of those heroes of faith, the prophets of the Hebrew people. They proclaimed, in an uninterrupted series throughout more than a thousand years of national life, the fundamental truth of all philosophy of history, that the divine principle of truth and justice, which is visible in the social and political institutions of the nations, will prevail, will expand without limit, and will finally make this earth the kingdom of God. They do not undertake to prove this truth; they see it: they speak out of the fulness of their intuitive belief in it, and suppose a corresponding belief in those whom they address. But when the Jewish mind began to philosophize, and endeavoured to produce dialectic proofs, its theodicean philosophy, or justification of God, stopped, in the Book of Job, at the avowal of the incomprehensibility of the destinies of mankind. And when, after the loss of national independence, and in the wane of prophetic spirit, the Ecclesiastes, a pious and philosophical author of the Persian times, tried

to argue more strictly on dialectic principles, he found no weapons against doubt, and no defence from despair, except submission, and the keeping of God's commandments.

*

The Fathers of the Christian Church had all hope for a world to come, and none for that in which they lived and died; but they manfully maintained the doctrine of the good God's having created, having ever governed, and still governing this world, against the despair of Celsus, as well as against the Gnostic denunciations of the Jewish dispensation.

*

The great prophet of human destinies in the awakening new world was William Shakspeare; he was so, much more, and in a higher sense, than Bacon. His "Histories" are the only modern epos.

*

When in the seventeenth century Europe emerged out of the blood and destruction into which the pope and the Catholic or Catholicizing dynasties had plunged it, the world, which had seen its double hope blighted, was almost in despair both of religious and civil liberty. The eighteenth century, not satisfied with the conventional theodicea of that genius of compromise, Leibnitz, found no universal organ for the philosophy of history, except the French encyclopedic school; and this school had no regenerating and reconstructive idea, save that of per-

fectibility and progress. But what is humanity without God? what is natural religion? what is progress without its goal? These philosophers were not without belief in the sublime mission of mankind, but they wanted ethical earnestness as much as real learning and depth of thought. They pointed to civilization, as to the goal of the race which mankind had to run. But civilization is an empty word, and may be, as China and Byzantium show, a caput mortuum of real life, a mummy dressed up into a semblance of living reality.

*

The eighteenth century called certain self-complacent general reflections upon incomplete, incoherent, and often entirely spurious materials, the "spirit of the age." It was indeed, as Faust observes to Wagner, a spirit of an age; but the spirit was that embodied in the conceited writer, and the age was at the best nothing but an unsuccessful attempt to attain the perfection of the eighteenth century.

> "Was ihr den Geist der Zeiten heisst,
> Das ist im Grund der Herren eigner Geist,
> In dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln."

The hollowness of that view showed itself most conspicuously in the climax of this whole philosophy, the "spirit of universal history." That spirit exhibited the conceited and shallow character of the age, whereas a truly historical picture must, on the

contrary, reflect the pure image of the past, and be a true mirror to ourselves.

*

Bossuet had tried to charm that spirit by epicizing the catechism, and concentrating the universal history of mankind around that of Judaism, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the monarchs who protected and defended it. Thus, ancient history, as far as it was not Jewish, was reduced to episodes in the history of that people, and Greek wisdom in things divine to a confused apprehension of the Jewish traditions: whereas he himself knew very little of that wisdom, and had a very contracted view of the Jewish traditions. His method is neither historical nor philosophical, nor indeed biblical. The result is an eloquently told fable in ancient history, and an acute sacerdotal special pleading in modern. This must be said, if the truth is to be spoken; and may be said with all respect, not only for the brilliant talents, but also for what was great in the character, of that eminent man. Bossuet tried to evoke the spirit of the history of mankind by scholastic formulas, based upon Semitic expressions: the answers he received were the echo of the questions. The spirit of the past is not to be evoked by those formulas, and neither Louis le Grand nor the Pope, nor even the uninterrupted hierarchy of the elect of a given nation or class, can form the centre of our universal history. Even in his theological ideas,

he never can divest himself of the Semitic and scholastic form, or rise to behold the truth in its divine universality, which is the only true catholicity.

*

Voltaire, in opposing this tendency, endeavoured to make the history of the past speak the language of the Encyclopedists. The philosophical attempt was not more successful than the theological: his "Universal History" is too heavy for a pamphlet, too light for a book. Nevertheless the idea of humanity became, through him, more divested of Semitic peculiarities and Hebrew forms; and there is a progress in that, for when the Judaic element becomes oppressive, it is, in modern society, the vocation of literature, as the national element, to unjudaize humanity.

*

Vico demonstrated (1725—1744) in his "Scienza nuova," that in the organic development of certain epochs, which are found in the social and political history of every nation, lie a proof of the moral government of the world, and a manifestation of order, of justice, and of progress, stronger than any argument *a priori* can supply. This leading idea is more important for the universal philosophy of history than all his particular researches, which are mixed up with fables and fancies, and few of which are now of any interest, either historically or philosophically.

*

Herder is the founder of the philosophy of history: nobody before or after him has taken up the grand subject in its full extent. This necessarily includes the physiological element, that is to say, the physical philosophy of mankind; and, on this field, Herder surpassed Haller, and anticipated the great Cuvier, who often said he had been inspired by his work. Nevertheless, Herder, because he took man as he is, as the microcosm of the universe, and considered his bodily organization as the perfection of an ascending series of animal formations as well as the organ of all intellectual development, has been called by superficial critics, according to their fancies, a fatalist, or a materialist. If he failed to refute entirely, and satisfactorily to replace by a higher philosophy, the sensualism and shallowness of the eighteenth century, it was because, outrunning with a noble impetus his own strength, and sometimes satisfied with indefiniteness, he undertook to fight that century (whose child he was) with its own weapons, at a moment when its social structure was to be shaken to its foundations, and when the German mind was in the act of preparing better arms, both by its thoughts and its researches. Still with all these defects, although incomplete and considered by himself "the most imperfect work man ever wrote," his "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind" (1784—1795) will continue to live and to be studied, when ninety-

nine out of a hundred celebrities of this century and of the last shall have been forgotten. Herder stepped out of Romanic negativeness into Germanic positiveness, and began to reconstruct. Himself a theologian, he universalized Semitic tradition and inspiration, as well as he could, into Japhetic science and philosophy. Religion and language are to him the primitive organic manifestations of the divine life in man. "Religion is the most ancient and most holy tradition of the earth:"—this is the text of his ninth book. Man, according to him, evolves Reason, Humanity, Religion, organically, in consequence of the faculties divinely united in his mind; and he does so under divine guidance. Herder's ideas, though of course incomplete and defective in their development, are great and profound.

*

Modern France has taken a noble part in these highest aspirations of the European mind. As Montesquieu was its patriarch, Condorcet is its martyr. His "Esquisse d'un Tableau historique des Progrès de l'Esprit humain" connects the two periods: that of Condillac, and that of a higher philosophy. It is however more remarkable as a testimony of his earnestness of mind, and as written in political imprisonment, and in the prospect of death, than as a lasting monument of philosophy.

*

Since 1815 three eminent men have taken up this

grand subject in the modern French school of philosophy: Cousin, in three Essays or Fragments; and his disciples, Jouffroy and Edgar Quinet, the former particularly in his "Lecture on the human Destinies," the latter in his "Introduction to Herder's Ideas." These writers are living proofs of the progress which the French mind has made since Voltaire, in its view of the destinies of man, and of the philosophy of history. It is to be regretted that Cousin has not made the philosophy of history the centre of his own philosophical system. There is at present no connection between his speculative principles and his historical views. His acute and methodic mind, in combining both, would have found that the formula to which he and his school have come hitherto, as to the relation of philosophy to Christianity, and of speculative research to religious worship, is and remains unsatisfactory, and cannot be the last expression of the philosophy of the mind. It is negative, and, like all negations, a dissonance. A serious philosopher, who acknowledges and respects Christianity, must make its records and history the subject of critical inquiry, both historical and philosophical, in order to find out in what form it agrees or does not agree with philosophy. This form being found to be the one most conformable with the mind of its Divine Author, the philosopher ought not merely to approve it theoretically, but to adopt it practically. Otherwise the philosopher will be without religion,

or the religious people without philosophy. A religiously disposed philosopher must be a worshipper, and an active member of the Christian fellowship. For it is a sad mistake, or a merely defensive provisional position, to suppose that because philosophy now begins in France to take account of the religious element, religion will cease, and be replaced by philosophy. Philosophy must go a step further, and the philosophic mind join conscientiously a religious worship, proposing its reform, if a reform appears necessary. But how can it do so, without making an independent, conscientious, and free inquiry into the claims and truths of Christianity?

*

This truth has been deeply felt by some younger philosophers of the same school, as Barthélemy de St. Hilaire, Lerminier, Jules Simon, and particularly by Saisset, in his "Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion du 19e siècle" (1848), especially in the second section, which treats on the philosophical school of Alexandria. In all these works there is visible a very marked progress in the positive philosophy of history and of religion. The German philosophers and historians might learn much from the method, clearness, and neatness of researches like these.

*

The thoughtful works of these theodicean apostles in France exhibit undoubted signs of life. Nothing

is, on the other hand, more destructive and distracting than the popular philosophy of France, as it manifests itself in the French novels. The doctrines of the school of Victor Hugo, Balzac, and Alexandre Dumas are built upon the despairing consciousness of a torn and lacerated age, incapable of believing in anything, although religion is made the principal spice of their fictions. These men sway preeminently the reading public of Europe; the rhapsodies of Eugene Sue have shown what power they exercise over the masses of the European people. The spectre of despair, which pervades their songs of death, passes into nine tenths of the productions of the European stage, particularly into the ever new forms of that sad, barbarous changeling, that favourite of the highest classes of society, the opera, which has been substituted for the ancient national drama. There the rags of religion are thrown over the spectre of death. Religion is used as a "sauce piquante" of the putrid dish of incredulity. It is a sauce "au moyen age à la dernière mode de Paris." Organs on the stage instead of flutes, hymns instead of sentimental songs, processions of monks or nuns instead of military shows, are all symptoms of the same elements of destruction which are at work in the age. The public is treated like an expiring frog, wanting galvanic shocks in order that it may experience a sensation of life, or show the symptoms of it: the fulfilment of a true prophecy of Lichtenberg's

(about 1790), that the time would come when people would not eat their roast meat without molten lead. That philosopher prophesied also, that a time was to come when it would be thought as ridiculous to believe in God as it was then to believe in spectres: to which Heinrich Jacobi said in reply, that another time would come when men would not believe in God, but would believe in spectres.

*

In the same manner the innocent garrulity of historical *genre* painting has been peppered into a medieval religious compound of uncritical history and impudent legends: a mixture of the Scotch novels and the German romanticists of Görres' school, quite in harmony with that rococco style in art, which combines Byzantine proportions, and Giottesque and Peruginesque countenances of angels and saints, with the pigtail of Louis XV.: the uniting element of these contradictions being impotence and hypocrisy.

*

The parties opposed to the school of Cousin are partly the clerical, or the so called catholic school; partly independent philosophers. Ballanche's noble aspirations are feeble and confused both in thought and in knowledge. There is, among much delusion, some real philosophy in Buchez. But a great progress is visible in St. Bonnet ("De l'Unité spirituelle, ou de la Société dans son but au-delà du Temps," 1841). Pierre Leroux is dialectic in his

polemics, but wild in his reconstruction. Comte's Positivism has no place in the philosophy of history. With his new worship, he is no more the religious, than Romieu with his Imperialism is the political, prophet of the age.

*

One can understand why Cousin's philosophy does not satisfy the mind of reflecting religious persons in France; and why the popular views of philosophy, on human history and on the destinies of mankind, inspire them with fear, if not with horror. But it must be confessed that what has been opposed to them, by what is called the strictly Catholic party, is certainly incapable of satisfying the thinking human mind, and the cravings of the best spirits of that ingenious nation. Guiraud's "Philosophie Catholique de l'Histoire, ou l'Histoire expliquée," (to name one out of many) is a strange compound of scholastic dreams and gratuitous assumptions, imperfect and blundering both in speculation and in facts, so that it must be considered a retrograde step, whether compared with Bossuet or with De Maistre's spirited, although entirely one-sided, views on the subject.

*

An isolated but remarkable position in the midst of this distraction has been taken by De la Mennais, in his "Esquisse d'une Philosophie" (4 vols.): a work published in 1840, but evidently conceived and composed before 1831. This remarkable work has passed

almost unnoticed in France, on account, probably, of the personal position of the author; but it is, incontestably, not only by far the most important production of that deep thinker and powerful writer, but one of the leading books of the age respecting the human mind. Not that it can be called a philosophy of history. It is simply a philosophical psychology, one which considers man in his primitive relations to God and the universe. It rectifies considerably the views which had been adopted in France, respecting first and secondary causes, mind and matter (the latter he well defines as simply expressing negative limitation), and respecting the productions of art, as manifestations of the beautiful, which he takes to be the true becoming manifest in form. The original conception of the book excludes the philosophy of religion, and even of the state, and presupposes a domain of revealed truth, to be believed on traditional authority, by the side of the domain of reason or philosophy. This separation is arbitrary and false, and it is not in harmony with the philosophical position since taken by that classical writer. But the author still lives, and his work is not finished.

*

As to Protestant France, Vinet has embodied, in various articles and essays, deep thoughts and noble aspirations on the philosophy of history. The only sign of life in this field, which at present can be

noticed, is the general view of Christian philosophy taken by the editors of the "Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne;" in one of the last numbers of which (July, 1851) there is an excellent fragment of an unpublished article on the philosophy of history ("La Naissance de l'Eglise") from the pen of M. Trottet.

*

The foundation of the Free University at Brussels, in 1827, marks a period in the history of the European mind, and in French literature, in reference to the philosophy of history. The philosophical school of Belgium is its most eminent product. The patriarch of this school is Van Meenen, whose disciple, Van de Weyer, has not ceased to be its most illustrious member by entering into public life. These men have taken up an original and highly important position between the sensualism of Condillac and of his successors on the one side, and abstract German metaphysics on the other. The Belgian school has now a young and distinguished representative in Tieberghien, as is proved by his "Essai théorique et historique sur la Génération des Connaissances humaines."

*

England has in this century returned to the course rather indicated than traced by Bacon. History has here to name, first, the genius of Coleridge, greater still by his inspiring influence, than by his

own writings. The progress in this line is marked, in two diverging directions and schools, by Frederick Maurice, and by Thomas Carlyle.

*

The system of thought of the first, as contained principally in his "Kingdom of Christ," his History of ethic philosophy, and his Lectures on the religions of the world, may, with reference to the present inquiry, be said to have its centre in the following ideas. He believes that the conscience of men in the present day is at war with the popular theology, and that this theology, as well among Romanists as Protestants, as well in England as on the Continent, is ineffectual, because it contemplates humanity, not as created and constituted in Christ, but as a fallen evil state, out of which Christ came to redeem a certain number of those who believe in Him. This theology he holds not to be that of the Bible, or of the Church, as represented in the creeds of Christendom. The Bible represents *Man* as formed in the image of *God;* the Fall as the rebellious effort of the individual man to deny that glory for himself, i. e. to deny his human condition. This denial, beginning with the first man, is continued in all his descendants; the flesh of each struggling against that law of kind under which God has placed it. The Bible is an orderly history of God's education of a particular race to understand the divine constitution of humanity, and the possibility of a man, by faith, living

according to it. This education does not contradict the pagan records, but explains them, and shows how the living Word was in all places and in all times the light of man. Christ, not Adam, represents humanity. Christ's Redemption is the *revelation* of humanity in its true state and glory. The faith of a man is in the privilege which God has conferred on his race. Since the appearance of Christ the kingdom of God is come and coming: we live in it. The incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, the gift of the Spirit, the formation of Churches, were the preparation for a judgment upon the old world, a judgment answering strictly to the anticipations of it in the apostolical epistles. Then began the New Dispensation or kingdom of God, based upon the full revelation of His name, the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, a kingdom for men, as Men. The baptized Church is the witness of this kingdom. God has educated the nations by it, precisely in the same sense, and under the same limitations, as he educated the nations in the old world by the Jews. The Old Testament remains to us an explanation of the conditions of national life, which is just as precious and necessary in the New Dispensation as in the Old. The New Testament explains the full law and glory of humanity. If a nation cannot fulfil the idea of the Old Testament by acknowledging a righteous, invisible king over it, it will sink into a godless absolutism. If humanity does not ac-

knowledge its constitution in Christ, it will sink into godless democracy.

*

As Maurice may be called the Semitic exponent of the deepest elements of English thought and life in this field, Carlyle, as a philosopher on history, or rather as manifesting in his writings such a philosophy, may be designated its Anglo-Germanic prophet. He considers it as his principal vocation, to point out that all real progress, and all development in history, are due, as far as man is concerned, to the inward truth and reality in man, and in the highest degree to the "heroes" of mankind. Both individuals and nations who act against that reality fulfil their destiny in perishing. Although his exposition and that of Maurice may appear diametrically opposed to each other, the Continental inquirer will easily discern in both the same national instinct to consider real life and action as the final object of man, as the highest reality of thought, and the safest, if not the only safe, standard of truth.

*

As to the works bearing directly upon the principal subject of these Aphorisms, Morell's "Philosophy of Religion" (1849) shows not only a very marked progress of the author of the "History of Philosophy," but indicates, timidly yet sincerely, the way in which the most aspiring minds of the growing generation evidently strive to restore the alli-

ance between Reason and Faith, between Thought and historical Belief, between Philosophy and Religion.

*

To discern a universal, true, and positive, not negative, solution of the problem of the philosophy of history, may be said to have formed, and to continue to form, unconsciously and consciously, the ultimate object of that great effort of the German mind, which produced Goethe and Schiller in literature; Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel in philosophy; and Lessing, Schlegel, and Niebuhr in critical philosophy and historical research. The Dioscuri of German literature, Schiller and Goethe, restored to Germany (what Lessing's criticism had prepared) the religious tragedy; that is to say, the idea of real dramatic composition. As the drama, no less than the epos, must have its centre in the belief that there is a divine justice manifested in the history of mankind; its restoration was the acknowledgment of the divine order of human destinies. This view, after having been revived for the Christian world by Shakspeare, and (although with fantastical distortions and national idiosyncrasies) by Calderon, had been conventionalized into passion and love-intrigue by the French tragedians; and had died away under the impotent hands of Addison and his cotemporaries. At the same time, Kant unfolded, in his critical review of the faculties of the mind, the idea

that positive religion presupposes reason, and manifests a form of eternal truth; thus throwing down for ever, so far as philosophy itself is concerned, that baneful and godless wall of separation, which has deprived history of the holiest historical characters, philosophy of its most sublime object, religion, and divinity of nothing less than of divine reason. Fichte and Schelling abolished the distinction which Kant, in his positive system, had established between theoretical and practical reason; and the latter insisted upon the acknowledgment of an identity between the mind and the world, as the two sides of one and the same divine manifestation. It is unnecessary to show how the history of mankind, and consequently the history of the human mind, were exalted by this view; and how speculation was driven from abstract formulas into the reality both of nature and history. Hegel undertook to complete this system, by proving that all which exists, or ever has existed in history, has an inward necessity, in virtue of which alone it is enabled to exist, and that it exhibits the laws of the universe, which, with him, are those of the human mind, embodied in unconscious matter. Of these laws he takes the logical process to be the metaphysical and dialectic exponent, offering the highest formula for every evolution in nature or history.

*

Whatever may be thought of the peculiar recon-

structive speculations of the masters of this German school, it is a fact that their criticism of the philosophy of the mind has restored the principle of free and responsible moral agency, and of the primitiveness of reason and faith. In accomplishing this they have thus done more than any other school to restore the inward reverence for religion, and a belief in the higher destinies of mankind. It is this school, especially, which has vindicated inward religion from the materialism and scepticism of the philosophers of England and France, and has formed in Germany an invincible bulwark against that theory of human life which has crept into the thinking minds of those countries. Those Englishmen who have written with contempt on the speculative German school have betrayed either an entire ignorance of the contents of the works they criticize, or a lamentable incapacity of following strictly dialectic and systematic reasoning.

*

It is another question, whether the purely constructive or formulizing system has laid hold of the realities of history more than those of nature. There is, particularly in the Hegelian system, no bridge between the formulas of the logical process on the one side, and the reality of existence on the other. Very often there is not even a real connection between that supreme formula and the shape it takes in its application to a peculiar subject, as, for instance, to

the philosophy of universal history. This being the case, such a philosophy of history necessarily becomes a hybrid compound of history and of speculation. Historical evidence is called up to support philosophical assertions, not proved philosophically: and metaphysical demonstrations are conjured up to prove facts, which at all events are not thoroughly sifted, but which very often are not established at all, or of which the very contrary has or can be proved. In no case can history supply the defect of philosophical argument, or philosophy the want of evidence. Thus Plato's and Cicero's fanciful etymologies do not become true, because deep ideas are connected with them: nor has scholastic subtlety been able to give reality to a fable or a myth, a fiction or a misunderstanding, although it often was connected with a deep speculative truth.

*

The historian who looks upon the remarkable development of thought in the German speculative school of this century from a European point of view, will certainly be painfully struck by the inferiority of the ethical development to the physical and merely speculative. The German mind appears overpowered by the contemplation of God as Nature and as Thought. His manifestation as conscious Spirit and Will is neglected: abstract reasoning absorbs the mystery of conscience and the feeling of reality.

*

The remedy has been prepared, however, by the theological school. Daub and Schleiermacher turned their deep minds to the ethical principle, and to the religious precepts of Christianity, as its highest manifestation. Richard Rothe, in his System of Christian Ethics, has gone still more profoundly into the very heart of the ethical speculation, and proved Christianity to be the realization of the highest divine thoughts: he has considered Christianity as a life, and shown the ethical and metaphysical unity of the Bible.

*

What has not yet been attempted would be, a union of the spirit of the Baconian system (for there is very little to the purpose in the letter of Bacon's speculations) with the categories of the German speculative philosophy of the mind. Bacon's intention and vocation evidently were to sift the facts by a complete classification, and thus to prepare them for a truly philosophical investigation. Now, if this idea be examined more closely, it will appear that such a classification must necessarily be a double one. The phenomena of mind (e. g. in language) must first be treated as elements in themselves, considered as single facts: this would constitute the forms of what there *is*, or of completed existence. But all historical phenomena are connected with each other by the law of cause and effect, subordinately or collaterally: they are the ele-

ments of a process of evolution, according to the special laws inherent in the nature of the phenomenon; therefore, in the case alluded to, of language. The first process, therefore, would give us pure, sifted facts: the second would connect them as links of a chain of organic development. The first process would be the strictly philological, the second the historical properly so called; and both would be subservient to the highest form of philosophy. The problem of such a philosophy would be, the reconstruction of the idea by the evolution of its elements, and the explanation of this evolution by the idea.

*

Goethe said, as the writer heard at Weimar in 1811, that to "learn a modern language was to pick up a current coin in the street, but to master an old one was to search for a medal, buried, as it were on purpose to hide it, under the ruins of a house, upon which later ages had built dwellings of their own, after having set fire to the old mansion."

This simile seems very strikingly to illustrate the particular difficulties of every historical inquiry into remote antiquity. There the historian meets perhaps with characters more perfect, with motives of action more pure, and with events more brilliant than those of his own time. They present, besides, a very peculiar interest to the philosophical and poetical mind. They are divested of much of the conventional existence mixed up with what is real in the age and nation of

the inquirer, and therefore reflect more purely the image of humanity. There is indeed before the historian of antiquity a coin with a divine image stamped upon it: but the legend is obliterated, and the image, very likely originally of matchless beauty, has its surface corroded, its expression distorted, and is perhaps to the naked eye or the superficial observer scarcely distinguishable from its counterfeit. The characters of extinct ages speak an extinct dialect of humanity: so do their monuments; so their religions, and the records of the same. These may remain a mystery for a series of centuries, although the words of their language can be construed, their annals and songs be translated, and their myths and legends explained. Their words, confidently translated by the unthinking and conceited, are found by the man of deep thought and honest research not to be identical with those of our modern languages. The circle of ideas in which they originated is different. The men who coined them received different impressions from the world without, and inherited different traditions from their fathers, and formed out of them different associations of ideas. And out of these associations, and many apparently accidental influences of climate and of events, arose their works of the fine arts and their systems of philosophy, their poetry, and their domestic, political, and religious life. It is a prophetic office to interpret these hieroglyphics of the past, to evoke the spirit hidden in the monuments and records of antiquity. But which is the system pro-

phetic for all nations? and where is the magic formula capable of raising the dead, and of making them reply to our questions?

*

Of all the medals of antiquity, that of Religion is most corroded: its legend is most difficult to interpret and to restore; and perhaps what we see and read at last is nothing but an overlying stratum, which could only be explained if we were able to discover the primitive coinage and to find out its ancient history. But generally both the one and the other are impossible. All religion centres in worship; worship in words and acts called rites, which can only live by tradition, and necessarily are changed by this process. Religion and language certainly are found preexisting in every nation which enters upon the world's stage: but we can see their growth and their decay, we may live to see their death: most die with the nation in which they were embodied. They must have their origin, and, even if revealed, they cannot have fallen from heaven, ready made, like meteoric stones, which have no history upon earth. Even the bethylia, the sacred stones, have their history in man's mind and thoughts and doings. Religion is and remains, more even than language, connected with the inward life and consciousness of man. It must have its philosophy: and that philosophy must commence with an examination of the elements of which religion consists.

II.

GOD AND CREATION.

God, the infinite Cause of the Universe, must both exist and be an intelligent Being. Or, more philosophically expressed, the idea of God in the human mind implies at the same time, as indivisibly united, the idea of the primitively existing Being and that of the primitive Intelligence or absolute Reason. The saying is as old as Aristotle (Metaph. Λ.), that Reason (*φρόνησις*) can only make Reason its object.

*

The object of the Thought of an infinite Being can only be Thought itself as Existence.

*

We are thus obliged to distinguish in God the Consciousness or Thought of Himself (the ideality) from his Being (or reality). Thus we come first to an original twofoldness of the infinite Being. His thinking Himself, by an act of eternal Will, is identical with his establishing in His being, by this spontaneous act, the distinction of Subject and Object: the Subject being Reason, the Object Existence as such, as distinct from Thought.

*

But that divine act implies, at the same time, the

Consciousness of the ever-continuing Unity of Subject and Object, of Existence and Reason.

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Thus there is implied in the One Thought of God a threefoldness, centring in a divine Unity.

*

In its finite realization, this divine threefoldness of the mind reflects itself both in the psychological process, by which a perception or notion is formed in the human mind, and in the logical process, or in the formation of a logical proposition. Man cannot think himself, without first acknowledging in himself the difference of the Subject (he who thinks) and of the Object (he who is the object of that thought), and at the same time without being conscious of the Unity of his Being. It is only thus that he knows that the subject and the object are identical, and it is by this consciousness alone that he is "in his senses" (*compos sui*). Indeed, all the Japhetic words for *consciousness* express that there is within us this twofoldness in conscious unity: *Gewissen* means the same as *συνείδησις* or *conscientia;* for it originally signifies *Mit-wissen.*

*

In order to prove that this psychological fact has an ontological reality, and is the substance of the divine mind, Schelling and Hegel have employed a metaphysical chain of reasoning. There is, however, another method of establishing such a proof, by

showing that all we know of the finite realization of mind, viz. Man and Humanity, bears such a witness of this truth, as to oblige us to suppose that a unity in threefoldness exists in the divine mind. But this requires a previous examination of the ideas of Creation, of Man, and of Mankind.

*

To make the logical process not a finite type, and a purely phenomenological reflex of the infinite, but the real essence and only reality of the consciousness of God, is the second error of Hegel: to start from the abstract notions of Existence and Thought, and not from an infinite conscious Will, a conscious Being who wills, is the first.

*

It is a delusive proceeding, to unite metaphysical and theological arguments in order to prove a religious tradition to be metaphysically true, or a speculative reasoning to be Christian or orthodox. Thus, in our own times, some endeavour to construct a metaphysical threefoldness out of three of the qualities of the Divine Being, and to identify this arbitrary combination of such three qualities with the primitive Christian doctrine of Father, Son, and Spirit, which, moreover, many of these writers most uncritically, not to say ignorantly, identify with its development into the theological doctrine of the Trinity. The attempt of La Mennais, who constructs a Trinity out of Power (la Force), Reason (l'Intelligence), and Love (l'Amour),

is not free from this defect. Whatever results are obtained in this manner must be surreptitious, and neither exhaust the metaphysical and logical process, nor express the sense of the passages of Scripture upon Father, Son, and Spirit.

*

To consider Creation either only as an infinite or only as a finite act, is equally untenable. The creation is not an act once for all performed, either eternally or in a given moment of time. Although it must be founded in eternal thought, it continues in time as the finite evolution of the divine Being and Thought through immediate finite agency. But, on the other hand, this realization of God in the finite supposes the infinite process of Creation by the antithesis of Will and Reason in the divine Being; or, to speak theologically, the eternal generation of the Word, which is the Son in the highest, that is to say, in the infinite or ideal sense.

*

As there exists a Creation, it is evident that this outward manifestation of God must be connected with that inner or immanent process. In the same manner as the eternal Being manifests Himself in this Self-consciousness as Thought, and as Unity both in Existence and Thought, the divine mind in the Creation must be supposed to reveal Himself in a twofold reality.

*

The thought of God of Himself is a making objective the eternal Subject: indeed, the creation of this universe is a continued objectivizing of subjectivity, and thus the reflex of the immanent divine process, applied to the finite.

*

The primitive antithesis in God (God and Word), applied to the Creation in time and space, or considered with respect to the demiurgic process, which terminates in man, may be denoted as that of Father and of Son. The Son may in this respect also be called the eternal Thought of God.

*

In every human soul there are, consequently, two factors; the infinite, as far as the soul is a part of the self-consciousness of God before all finite existence; and the finite, as far as man has the immediate or nearest cause of his existence in another created being, or (in the first instance) in the agency of an elementary power in earth.

*

The same twofoldness exists necessarily in the continued work of Creation or in the Development. There the finite factor manifests itself in the action of the outer world, or the Universe, including the action of other individuals and of society upon the individual.

*

The nature of the finite factor, in generation and development, can be explained by the nature of the

parents, the tribe, the national character, the language, the spirit of the age, the climate, education, events, and all concurrent external circumstances. But the infinite factor is the enigma of every man's existence. It is incalculable and inexplicable, as every thing which is not finite and not the work of finite causes. "So is every one that is born of the Spirit." (St. John, iii. 8.)

*

The greatest difference between individuals is therefore in the infinite factor. Although, theoretically, only a difference in degree, it can amount, practically, to a difference in kind.

*

The highest degree of power of the infinite in man is, that the soul has in itself the consciousness, and, by an unselfish, self-sacrificing life, manifests the working, of that divine element which is in him. This is, as far as it is real, an incarnation of holiness, and consequently a second birth, or a new creation.

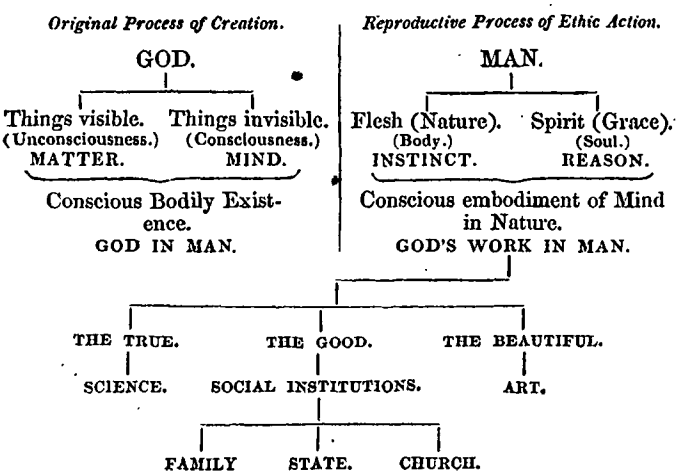
*

As far as moral perfection is concerned, such an elevation of human life into the divine can never be separated from the self-responsible ethical action, which alone constitutes virtue, and alone gives ethical dignity. But this action is not the action of man as Self; that is to say, of the finite Being, as far as it is striving to become the centre of existence, and fancies itself its own cause as well as its own end. It is the action of the infinite factor in him, working

undisturbed a life in God. This antithesis of Self and God, in the highly gifted mind, corresponds with what theologically is called, the difference between Nature and Grace, "natural light" and "divine light."

*

The end of all ethic effort is, theologically speaking, that Nature becomes Grace; and the aim of creation is, that Grace ends in becoming incarnate. For this is the process of the realization of the infinite in the finite, and man has to reproduce the very thought and act of creation, he being the finite mirror of the Infinite in the Universe. The following table shows the harmony of the Semitic expressions with the Japhetic terms of the philosophy of the mind:



III.

MAN AND HUMANITY.

In the intellectual world the finite expression of the Thought is the conscious individual, Man.

*

The privilege of man is his free will, his power of free moral action. He is not bound to act by a cogent impulse from within or without, either of instinct or of the outer world, but is capable and called upon to act on the decision of his own reason and conscience, or, to express it more precisely, on an ethical resolution based upon conscience negatively, and upon reason positively. This free will gives man the awful power of appropriating to Self what is God's, of substituting his self-interest and pride for the ideas of what is good, and just, and true. By being allowed to realize this power, which realization is *the* evil and *the* sin, his conscience tells him that he is self-responsible. Free will imposes self-responsibility. Thus free will includes necessarily the power of not following the will of God and the dictates of conscience and enlightened reason, but of acting according to that negation of the divine will potentially contained in Self. By divine necessity, what is the origin of evil becomes the impelling

power of development in universal history. Evil exists only through man, but it exists as condition of his free agency, and of the realization of the divine mind in finite nature.

*

The consciousness of the human mind in reality is, and always must have been, that suspension between the attraction to a centre and the falling away from it by its own momentum, which in nature produces the planetary rotation. There is in man the consciousness of the option left to him between the free life in God and the enslaving act which, instead of God, constitutes Self the centre of existence, and this double consciousness is the subjective element of individual religion.

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But man is not only an individual: he is originally and necessarily a part of humanity. The first manifestation of this necessary manifoldness is in matrimony, thence in family, whence tribes and communities and nations spring. Its highest expression is humanity, or the totality of the human race, as considered in its development through the series of generations.

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Mankind, or Humanity, is therefore as much a reality, and consequently as much a realization of divine Being and Thought in time, as the individual man is.

*

The most distinctive character of intellectuality is progress. The human race alone does, not only continue to exist, like other animal races, by the succession of generations, but advances in and through them, by families, tribes, nations, and in ever enlarging orbits of development.

*

Mankind advances according to the idea which is divinely placed in it, although it advances only through the instrumentality of individual men. All development has its first cause in individual progress, excellence, and power; but this advance or progress receives its full realization by becoming a principle of life in the other members of the social body, and being thus divested of individualism. Moreover the very idea of progress originates in the idea of humanity. So far only, any thought or action of an individual is progressive, as it agrees with that principle of human progress.

*

The principle of the progress of humanity, again, has its root necessarily in the law of divine self-manifestation.

*

It is the highest object of the philosophical history of mankind to exhibit this law. But the solution of this problem in a concrete form supposes a methodical organic union of three distinct operations. The first is the philosophical or speculative, as to the

leading principles and the general method. The second is the philological, for sifting and previously organizing the facts contained in the historical records, of which language is not only the vehicle, but itself the principal and primitive monument. The third is the historical, which organizes these facts definitively, according to the principle of development.

*

The goal of humanity is a state of the world in which the society of man, although divided by tongues, nations and governments, shall exhibit that incarnation of divine life which Semitically is called "the Kingdom of God," or "the Church," in the highest sense.

IV.

GOD, MAN, HUMANITY.

If the Infinite be the necessary cause of the Finite, the key to the knowledge of the finite mind must be in the infinite mind. Now as religion implies avowedly a connection between God and man, the realities concerned present, at first sight, a twofoldness, God and Man; but in fact a threefoldness, God, Man, Humanity (or mankind). Or in other words: God, as manifesting Himself in and through man, manifests Himself in a twofold character, — as the infinite cause of the individual Man, and as the infinite cause of Humanity.

*

Such a twofold manifestation, not being reducible to the peculiar nature of the finite, implies, as cause, a twofoldness in the primitive, eternal self-manifestation of God. Now the analysis of this twofoldness, as constituting the divine mind in infinite self-manifestation, has given us the following Triad:

I. Existence.	Thought. (Reason.)	Consciousness of the Unity of both.
II. God, as the Absolute Being.	Word, as the Eternal Manifestation in God.	Spirit, as Eternal Consciousness of Unity.

The Triad of God manifesting Himself in the Universe through man, or the Triad of the Infinite in the process of realization in time, is this:

GOD — MAN — HUMANITY.

*

If the threefoldness thus arising out of the union and cooperation of the infinite and finite, is demonstrably only the reflex of that ideal process of the Self-consciousness of the divine mind, the metaphysical or ontological Triad is proved to be the necessary prototype of the finite Reality, and the key to the threefoldness of God in Religion.

*

Man is in the finite, that is to say, in the visible universe, what the Thought (or Logos) is in the infinite divine mind; and Humanity is to the individual, what the consciousness of the unity of Existence and Thought is to God, — the complete form of the divine manifestation. For Humanity, as such, does not exist in bodily reality; neither is it only the aggregate of individuals, for it has a principle of evolution independent of the individual. It can therefore only be explained by its organic reference, both to Man and to God: to Man, so far as he is the apparent reality of Humanity; to God, as the eternal cause of all. The development of humanity has therefore its real centre in the eternal Self-manifestation of the divine mind. In the divine mind the complete con-

sciousness of unity presupposes the Existence having been made objective by Thought (the objectivation). Thus, in the demiurgic process of the divine mind, Humanity presupposes Man.

*

The second or demiurgic threefoldness, God, Man, Humanity, is the great reality in which the human mind finds itself placed; and it is this threefoldness, as based upon the eternal divine Self-manifestation, which Religion, or the God-consciousness in Man, necessarily exhibits.

*

If this be true, every positive religion, so far as it is true, must acknowledge, more or less perfectly, that threefoldness, and express it in its own language, which is that of history or tradition.

*

The ancient scriptural and apostolic doctrine of Christianity is that of Father, Son, and Spirit, substantially united. This doctrine is placed, as far as the first element is concerned, by the side of the strictest doctrine of the Unity of God. So far as the second, the Son, is considered, it always refers to Jesus, the Christ, and to believing man. Lastly, the Spirit is always treated with reference to the "community" (Ecclesia), or to believing mankind. But, at the same time, He who is the Son is called the incarnation of the Eternal Word. In like man-

ner the Paraclete (John, xiv. 26.) is considered as the Spirit coming from the Father.

*

The following three points may therefore here be assumed as proved; because every one may easily ascertain this simple fact, by comparing the genuine scriptural passages, which form the apostolic tradition on this subject:

First: The Unity of God, as the eternal *Father*, is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity.

Secondly: The *Son* is Jesus the Christ, as the adequate manifestation, in the highest sense: every true believer is Son, in a state of diminishing imperfection, being brother to Christ in the Spirit. But Jesus alone is the incarnation of the Word (Logos). He therefore is called by St. John, "the only-begotten," *Unigenitus.*

Thirdly: The *Spirit* has not had, and is not to have, any finite individual embodiment: it appears in finite reality only as the totality or universality of the Believers, as the congregation of believing mankind, called Church. But this Spirit is, substantially, not the spirit of any human individual, or of any body of men, but the Spirit of God himself.

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This is the statement of the Bible; and to accept and believe this statement, as the revelation of divine truth, this, and this alone, forms the doctrinal test of the Apostolical age.

*

Those who accept that Biblical statement, who profess this belief before the congregation, and who lead a Christian life accordingly, may freely reason and speculate upon the connection of Father, Son, and Spirit, with dialectic thought and metaphysical reasoning. They will do so successfully, according to the view of the apostolical age, in the same measure as they are good interpreters and philosophers. But no such philosophical system is considered as a test of churchmanship, of communion with Christ. The creed of the Churches, the baptismal pledge, is substantially nothing but the response to the formulary of immersion (St. Matthew, xxviii.) Whosoever admits and professes the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, in the words of that apostolic tradition respecting them which is contained in the Bible, is an orthodox Christian, and, if he teaches it, an apostolic teacher: and all Churches which exhibit and realize that statement are apostolical Churches.

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Thus far the Fathers and Churches of the second and third centuries are unanimous and apostolic; and this faith, and this liberty, constitute their importance to us.

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Beyond that simple but grand faith, and beyond this truly Christian principle of liberty, they neither pretend to apostolic perfection and authority, nor do they indeed exhibit a perfect state of development.

*

In their theological reasonings on the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, the second and third centuries do, evidently, not distinguish sufficiently between the statement of the Bible (as it were, the historical element) and the speculative, or philosophical, element. Nor do they always distinguish, with sufficient clearness, between what belongs to the ontological Triad which is the self-consciousness of God of Himself within Himself, and the demiurgic Triad which is the manifestation of the divine mind in the Finite, or God, Man, Humanity. Lastly, they do not attend sufficiently to the difference between the Eternal thought of the finite manifestation, and its realization in time and space. And still, whoever reflects on this subject will see that any confusion of this sort must lead to erroneous formulas.

*

As these formulas may contain much evangelical truth, however imperfectly expressed, they may, if it be done freely and without constraint, have a disciplinary authority in a given Church, as commanding a respectful consideration in the schools of divinity.

*

This incipient defect in the method, both of interpretation and of reasoning, necessarily became fatal when the doctrinal expressions on this subject were made the tests of churchmanship, and imperial despotism the means of enforcing them.

*

In this respect, the difference of the age of Hippolytus and the time of the Councils is immense, and the freer formulas of that age become, relatively, commendable, and cannot be considered as imperfect Nicæanism and as incomplete Councilism.

*

This difference is double: in the contents of the formulas, and in the circumstance, that the Episcopal Christianity makes these formulas doctrinal tests, whereas in that age they had, at the highest, a disciplinary and scholastic, not a dogmatic and exclusive, authority.

*

The historical formula, stated in the above paragraphs, has been arrived at without any mixture of evidence with speculation. The philosophical formula was obtained by the purely philosophical analysis of the mind. If they agree with each other, they do so honestly, and therefore convincingly.

*

The Christian triad exhibits in their simplest and purest form the three factors which constitute religion. They are placed by apostolic Christianity in that perfect relation to each other which insures their harmonious action. We have only to translate the historical words into their simple philosophical exponents, and we shall perceive that the historical doctrine of Father, Son, and Spirit, harmonizes fully with the two philosophical triads, the eternal (infinite, ideal) and the demi-

urgic (finite, real). It connects them together, because it is itself in connection both with the higher, infinite sphere, or the triad of the infinite self-manifestation, and with the lower, finite sphere, or the triad representing the infinite Being in His finite realization. The positive form in which the three factors, Father, Son, and Spirit, appear in the apostolic records, expresses, more perfectly than any other, the intimate connection between the substance of the infinite divine Being, and the finite realization of the infinite in the universe.

*

It is a remarkable coincidence, that speculation can find, for the third factor, no other word but that which is consecrated by the apostolical records, Spirit. Indeed, in this third factor, the speculative analysis of the infinite mind and the demiurgic or mundane manifestation necessarily coincide. The Spirit is the connecting link in every respect. In the first place, the Spirit connects (agreeably with the origin of the word), in either of the speculative triads, the two preceding factors, as their conscious unity. Secondly, the Spirit connects the two speculative triads with each other. Lastly, it connects them with the revealed triad. In interpreting the Semitic expression for Spirit, it is not unessential to recollect that in Hebrew (and, therefore, in the language in which Christ spoke) the word is feminine, and that the Hebrew image of Spirit is that of Mother and

Maternity. Christ chose, as explanation of the Hebrew word, a new term, the Paraclete; which Greek masculine had passed into the vernacular language of Palestine, in the sense of Advocate, Prolocutor (*Fürsprecher*), and may therefore be translated also Intercessor or Comforter.

*

We may, therefore, sum up the whole Christian belief in the above exhibited historical formula, as the simplest and at the same time most authentic and highest expression. *Father* and *Son* are correlates, so are *God* and *Word,* but the first term refers to the demiurgic sphere alone, whereas the correlates of *God* and *Word* belong also to the ontological sphere. The Sonship refers as substantially as the Wordship to the divine mind, as far as God is manifesting Himself finitely, and thinks this manifestation. The term Word differs only in this, that it applied equally to the manifestation within and without: is expresses the eternal thought of God of Himself, which thought includes the demiurgic process as a consequence of the evolution of the Word. In this consist the unity and the difference.

*

The very expressions of *Father* and *Son* prove that they have, necessarily, reference to the manifestation of God, not to his immanent, extramundane nature. The Son is the most natural expression, both of the finite realization, and of the divine thought of

the same; as the Word is the most adequate expression for the immanent consciousness of God, as the eternal cause of all finite realization.

The following juxtaposition will render this result still more evident. In the subjoined table the two philosophical triads are placed at the top and bottom: and transversely is placed the historical triad, connected with both, and presupposing both.

THE EXISTING. ὁ ὤν.	THE THINKING. (Word) Λόγος.	THE THINKING-EXISTING EXISTING-THINKING. Πνεῦμα.
THE FATHER.	THE SON. — Jesus the Christ. — The individual Christian, as individual.	THE SPIRIT PARACLETE. — The congregation of believers. — The totality of believers in all ages. The Church.
GOD. Ideal. Infinite.	MAN. Real. Finite.	MANKIND. Ideally-real. Infinitely-finite.

V.

NATURE OF RELIGION.

MAN, as an intellectual being, has the inward consciousness of a ruling divine Will and Reason, as the first cause or Ruler of the universe, and of the intimate and immediate connection of his own Will and Reason and his whole existence with the same. This immediate consciousness is called Religion, or, in German, Consciousness of God (*Gottesbewusstsein*). The religious consciousness, or religion as perception and feeling, is in man, as an intellectual being, exactly what instinct, or the perception of the outer world in its relation with the animal life, is in the animal creation. The religious consciousness may therefore be called the highest instinct of humanity.

*

Like all other instincts, religious consciousness or feeling has both its Sense (*Sinn*), as organ of perception, and its Impulse (*Trieb*), destined to appropriate and make the perception its own by a corresponding action. Thus, to refer to an organic analogy in nature, the spider perceives, by its peculiar sense, the state of the atmosphere, and by its impulse places accordingly its mathematical work of self-preservation — the web.

The human reaction upon the perception is naturally an ethical one, and controllable by Reason and Conscience. As man, by his mind, is the microcosm or mirror of nature, his Sense and Impulse are in contact both with the whole outer world and with its infinite Cause.

*

As man's existence, from beginning to end, supposes two elements or factors working in him, the finite, or immediate, and the infinite, or mediate; this twofoldness must also operate in the origin and development of religion, both as perception and as reaction.

*

The perception of the infinite factor by the religious instinct contains again two elements: the feeling of the connection of the Soul with that first Cause and ruling Being, and the feeling of estrangement from the same. The religious consciousness feels connected but not united, estranged but not isolated: and thus revolves about the infinite in eternal dependence and separation, attracted by eternal love and moved by inward longing.

*

The religious instinct perceiving the connection with the divine substance is called Beatitude; in German, God-blessedness (*Gottseligkeit*): the religious instinct perceiving the estrangement is called Conscience (*Gewissen*). Conscience, subjectively, may

be defined as the self-preservative feeling of moral horror or disapprobation of whatever is causing an estrangement, by the thought or action of the individual.

*

The religious impulse, immediately directed upon God, manifests itself also in a twofold action; as thought, and then it is called *prayer*; as action, and then it is called *sacrifice*. The unity of prayer and sacrifice consists in this, that, in either, man dedicates his finite existence to the infinite, acknowledging this infinite as the only true reality.

*

The religious instinct, directed to God through the finite, is called the Ethic instinct; and divides itself, subjectively, into the ethical instinct of the individual, and that of man as member of humanity; objectively, as perception of truth in the finite existence, and as perception of goodness, or what is good, in that existence.

*

The religious impulse directed upon finite existence is in the same manner directed to the realization (or appropriation) either of truth or of goodness. The produce of the one is Knowledge, and leads to Science: the produce of the other is Virtue, and leads to Holiness.

*

The instinctive feeling of the unity of the True

and of the Good is the sense of the Beautiful; the manifestations of which are the works of the fine arts. It has its root in the religious feeling and impulse.

*

The end of all human development is to change instinct into conscious reason, and impulse into principle, but as an active principle, as the spring of ethical action, realizing what is in the mind. This is the highest realization of the divine mind in time, finite nature thus becoming the organ of infinite reason and goodness.

VI.

PRIMITIVENESS OF RELIGION AND OF REVELATION.

THE primitiveness of religious sense and religious manifestation is proved philosophically, first by the analogy of all instinctive perceptions and actions: secondly, by showing that the previous existence of that consciousness of God is necessary for any progress, and for the existence of all that forms human civilization.

The first manifestation of the human mind, by the side of religion, is allowed to be language. Now certainly the manifestation of the religious feeling, both in the domain of worship and of practical ethical action in the world, beyond external acts and gestures, presupposes language as the perception of things manifested by articulate sounds. But language itself could never exist without the primitive religious consciousness. It is the distinctive nature of language, that it does not echo the impression made upon the mind, through sensation, by the external world, but that it expresses organically the reaction of the contemplating mind upon that impression. Or, in other words, language does not express things as striking the senses, but things as

represented by qualities perceived in them by the mind. A word is originally the expression both of a quality contemplated in a thing, and of a thing contemplated in a quality: and therefore the original word implies necessarily a whole logical proposition; that is to say, Subject, Predicate, and Copula, — the Copula being nothing but the implicit or explicit acknowledgment of the concordance of subject and predicate:

A	=	B
Subject.	Copula.	Predicate.
(Tree)	(is)	(green).

This formula is nothing but the application of the primitive religious consciousness to the single things. The consciousness of the First Cause is necessary to form any original word, and, more explicitly, to enunciate the Unity of that which permanently *is* (substance), and that which is evolving (person or thing) or starting from one state of existence into another.

*

Finally, the primitiveness of religious consciousness can be proved historically, as strictly as any historical demonstration allows, by the fact, that it may be oppressed, and may be driven into madness, but can no more be extirpated than reason can. External or internal adverse circumstances may so much depress the human religious consciousness, individually and collectively, in a given family or tribe, as to degrade

the human mind to a loss of that consciousness: but that this state is abnormal, is proved by the collateral depression of the reasoning faculty, and by the circumstance, that both return when the depressing circumstances cease. That depression is nothing but a form of idiotcy. The opposite degeneration of the religious consciousness, pantheism, in the from of man believing himself to be God, gives direct evidence, like every form of madness, of the existence of the normal consciousness, from which it is the exceptional aberration. Spinoza says somewhere: "Remoto errore, nuda veritas remanet." (Take away error, and naked truth remains.) It may be said with equal truth: "Remota insania, ratio pura apparet." (Remove aberration of mind, and pure reason appears.)

*

Civilization, in the highest sense, is nothing but the restoring of the depressed or savage state into the normal, by the action of a superior mind, or a higher and nobler race, upon that state of degradation, In this process of development the tribe may become extinct, as individuals may die in the process of organic development. But there are abundant instances of their surviving this development, and thriving better than before.

*

There never was brought forward a more crude and unphilosophical notion than that of the English and French deists of last century respecting natural re-

ligion. Its most absolute formula is that of Diderot: "All positive religions are the heresies of natural religion." There no more exists a natural religion, than there exists a natural or abstract language in opposition to a positive or concrete language. What was called natural religion is, on the contrary, but the dross of religion, the *caput mortuum* which remains in the crucible of a godless reason after the evaporation of all life.

*

But this crude notion was the negative reaction against the equally untenable, unphilosophical and irrational notion: that revelation was nothing but an external historical act. Such a notion entirely loses sight of the infinite or eternal factor of revelation, founded both in the nature of the infinite and in that of the finite mind, of God and Man.

*

This heterodox notion became still more obnoxious, by its imagining something higher in the manifestation of God's Will and Being than the human mind, which is the divinely appointed organ of divine manifestation, and in a double manner: ideally in mankind, as object, historically in the individual man, as instrument.

*

The notion of a merely historical revelation by written records is as unhistorical as it is unintellectual and materialistic. It necessarily leads to un-

truth in philosophy, to unreality in religious thought, and to Fetichism in worship. It misunderstands the process necessarily implied in every historical representation. The form of expressing the manifestation of God in the mind, as if God was Himself using human speech to man, and was thus himself finite and a man, is a form inherent in the nature of human thought, as embodied in language, its own rational expression. It was originally never meant to be understood materialistically, because the religious consciousness which produced it was essentially spiritual; and, indeed, it can only be thus misunderstood by those who make it a rule and criterion of faith, never to connect any thought whatever with what they are expected to believe as divinely true.

*

Every religion is positive. It is therefore justly called a religion "*made manifest*" (*offenbart*), or as the English term has it, *revealed:* that is to say, it supposes an action of the infinite mind, or God, upon the finite mind, or man, by which God in His relation to Man becomes manifest or visible. This can be mediate, through the manifestation of God in the Universe or Nature; or a direct, immediate action, through the religious consciousness.

*

This second action is called *revealed*, in the stricter sense. The more a religion manifests of the real substance and nature of God, and of His relation to

the universe and to man, the more it deserves the name of a divine manifestation or of Revelation. But no religion which exists could exist without something of truth, revealed to man, through the creation, and through his mind.

*

Such a direct communication of the divine mind as is called Revelation, has necessarily two factors which are unitedly working in producing it. The one is the infinite factor, or the direct manifestation of eternal truth to the mind, by the power which that mind has of perceiving it: for human perception is the correlate of divine manifestation. There could be no revelation of God if there was not the corresponding faculty in the human mind to receive it, as there is no manifestation of light where there is no eye to see it.

*

This infinite factor is, of course, not historical: it is inherent in every individual soul, only with an immense difference in the degree.

*

The action of the Infinite upon the mind, is *the* Miracle of history and of religion, equal to the Miracle of Creation.

*

Miracle, in its highest sense, is therefore essentially and undoubtedly an operation of the divine mind upon the human mind. By that action the human

mind becomes inspired with a new life, which cannot be explained by any precedent of the selfish (natural) life, but is its absolute contrary. This miracle requires no proof: the existence and action of religious life is its proof, as the world is the proof of creation.

*

As to the preternatural action of the infinite mind upon the body and upon nature in general, two opinions divide the Christian world, which both are conscientious. The one supposes any such action of the infinite to exist only by the instrumentality of the finite mind, and in strict conformity with the laws of nature, which, as God's own laws, it considers immutable. It therefore considers miracles, which appear to contradict these laws, as misunderstandings of the interpreter, who mistakes a symbolical, or poetical, or popular expression, for a scientific or historical. This is now acknowledged to be the case with the celebrated miracle of Joshua and the sun. If the miracle regards the human body, that view ascribes it either to the same misinterpretation, or to the influence of a powerful will upon the physical organization of another individual, or, lastly, to the operation of the mind upon its own body. The other sees the divine miracle in the alleged fact, that these laws have been set aside for a providential purpose. As the subject is primarily a historical one, the safest rule seems to be, to judge every single case, in the first instance, by the general rule of evidence. An unprejudiced philosophy of history,

at all events, will not allow this question to be placed on the same level with *the* ever-living, self-proving miracle of history, which nobody in his senses denies, but rather say about the other miracles with Hippolytus: "Such miracles are for the unbeliever, whom often they fail to convert, and must be considered as useless when unbelief ceases."

*

The second factor of revelation is the finite or external. This means of divine manifestation is, in the first place, a universal one, the Universe or Nature. But, in a more special sense, it is a historical manifestation of divine truth through the life and teaching of higher minds among men. These men of God are eminent individuals, who communicate something of eternal truth to their brethren; and, as far as they themselves are true, they have in them the conviction, that what they say and teach of things divine is an objective truth. They therefore firmly believe that it is independent of their individual personal opinion and impression, and will last, and not perish as their personal existence upon earth must.

*

The difference between Christ and the other men of God is analogous to that between the manifestation of a part, and of the totality and substance, of the divine mind. It is Semitically expressed by the distinction between Moses and Christ. According to Jewish theologians, not only a distinction was made

between the decalogue and the ceremonial law, but the whole law was given through the instrumentality of angels, not through God directly. St. Paul adopts this view, and opposes to the Mosaic dispensation the manifestation of God through Jesus the Christ. Or, in other words, the Christian religion is a manifestation of the very centre of God's substance, which is Love: it is the revelation of the Father by the Son, who is the incarnation of the eternal Word, and without Sin.

VII.

THE PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL.

No finite life except unto death. No death except unto higher life. This formula is the solution of the great tragedy of human life. The individual does no more exist for itself than by itself: but its real progress and destiny are intimately connected with the progress and destiny of humanity.

The most primitive and best established proof of that truth is the origin of language. Every language of which we know the history owes its origin to the decay and decomposition of another.

*

Tribes and nations disappear after having prepared the way for others which are to solve a new and higher problem. In the interval there may be much distraction and confusion: rude ages may intervene between the old and new light: but the idea of humanity always finds at last its representative. A new tribe appears on the stage, and takes up and carries on the torch of divine light, which, in the noble race towards the great goal, had dropped from the hands of the tribe that held it before.

*

The highest speculative principle of development

is this: there must at the appointed time be an Evolution (*Werden*) in a finite form, of that which is in the divine Being (*Sein*) as infinite Thought.

*

This evolution is only possible by the play of antagonisms. Division is antagonism; and finite existence is limitation; therefore exclusion of its contrary.

*

Universal history is the totality of that divine evolution. Whatever is in the infinite mind undivided, exists in the finite mind and the world successively, and under the principle of limitation.

*

The ethical solution of the tragedy of human life and of the destinies of mankind (what Aristotle calls the *purification*, *κάθαρσις*, and what is profoundly expressed by the German *Versöhnung*, atonement) is this: ethic effort can in any stage of development realize finitely the divine totality, and thus exhibit within that sphere the ideal of humanity. This applies to individuals as well as to nations.

*

The intellectual development is either normal or abnormal, exactly as the animal development is either physiological or pathological. The art of distinguishing both in history is what diagnostic tact and skill are in medical observation. The difference of both is diametrical. For the one is a crisis of life unto life, the other a crisis of disease unto death.

*

Development is normal, objectively, so far as it evolves reality, that is, so far as it is the evolution of that which is; subjectively, so far as it is the evolution of a conscientious belief, existing in an individual or a community.

*

Every unreal external development is pathological, abnormal, but it may wear the aspect of external progressing life, which is called Civilization. Unreal civilization is only one of the modes of individual and national death.

*

Whatever man produces in realizing, as his nature urges him, the idea of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, is the product of the two factors of all creation, the infinite and the finite, which are in this process the individual reason and the *sensus communis*, that is, common sense in its primitive acceptation.

*

But the proportion of the two factors is different according to the nature of what is to be realized. Consequently, the only proper method of a philosophy of history will be, not only to investigate the idea to be realized, but also the elements and laws of development inherent in the particular nature of the thing developed. And these laws are first to be considered under the category of completed existence

(*gewordenes Sein*), and then under that of evolving existence (*werdendes Sein*).

*

According to these differences, the part contributed by the conscious activity of the individual will be greater or smaller.

*

Religion and language show, more than any other organic activity of man, the preponderating activity of the *sensus communis*. Neither word nor rite suggested by an individual would otherwise be intelligible, and capable of being received and practised, as integrally their own, by a community.

*

The composition of works of art or of science shows, on the contrary, a prevalence of the individual factor: but the artist and man of science know that their most individual works are expressions of a common perception, and are therefore independent of Self.

VIII.

PRINCIPLES AND ANTAGONISMS AS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN GENERAL, AND OF SYMBOLICAL (CEREMONIAL) RELIGIONS IN PARTICULAR.

THE more a religion is a revealed one, that is to say, the more it manifests of God's own positive Being in His relation to mankind, the more powerful the infinite or ideal factor must be in it. It must therefore leave to the agency of the Spirit all externals, not impose a ready-made law-book or a ceremonial. That same power will also prevent the Spirit from being ever encroached upon definitively by such canons or rituals.

*

As a positive given form of religion lives, so it dies, by the power of the infinite factor. It is this element which gives the inward life and intellectuality to the historical revelation, and which destroys whatever in the composition is hostile to it.

*

The historical factor is, as to its external form, subject to all the limitation of the finite, but acquires its dignity by the union with the infinite. What is divine must always, if it is to be realized by divine law, have "the form of the servant," that is to say,

conform itself to the laws of all finiteness. But this law in itself, so far from being an impediment to the infinite, is destined to become its highest triumph, finite realization being the end and aim of all divine development.

*

But the difficulty comes in the progress of the work. In the development of religion, the superstructure often hides for ever the foundation, and is in its turn overlaid again by progressive structures.

*

The rites, symbols, or sacred acts, with which this primitive drama of mankind begins, have their own laws of development, and by their unchecked action may develop themselves in entire opposition to the idea which they are meant to realize. They tend to formalism; whereas the idea itself has not only the power, but is conscious of the divine right and the sacred duty, to break the form if it attempts to usurp the throne, instead of serving as a handmaid. In a similar way, the social arrangements which are to realize the idea of religious community and union have, in their own special tendency, the germ of hierarchy and priestcraft. So every corporation has, by the selfish principle, the tendency to forget that it is only to be a means to an end, that it is not the aim and end itself.

*

Whenever thus by formalism and hierarchism a

religious idea is perverted and corrupted, its nature is threatened with a pathologic metastasis or change of centre. What was, in the first stage of pathologic change, simply a sensuous misunderstanding, what appeared to the mind a weakness, an innocent child's play, has a tendency to be made into a system, and canonized as the first article of a Creed. From that moment the once true symbol becomes the nail to the coffin of that form of religion.

*

The danger arising in this stage of development of the internal element, from the history of the religious feeling, is still greater. The rite expressed the originally religious idea which formed the centre of the religious consciousness of the family, tribe, or nation, when the rite was first instituted. It expressed that idea typically, artistically; and how can it do so otherwise? Can you speak otherwise than in words? express plastic ideas otherwise than by forms? Such a demand is like the craving of man to eat better than wheaten bread. But what happens, when that centre of consciousness itself changes? If, for instance, instead of thankfulness to the Cause of all good, the rite is to express fear of the unseen, hidden Power, which conscience tells us we have offended? If instead of expressing an internal act of the worshipping man, addressed to the Creator, it is to represent a historical act, perhaps a supposed external one, relating to matter? Here the antagonism is absolute. The new conscious-

ness will remodel the words or the form of the celebration of the rite, so as to make it expressive of the new centre of consciousness, and this inward change itself may be the natural effect of a gradual change which has taken place in the celebration of the rite. This may be physiological or pathological, evolution or dissolution; but who shall decide which it is? Authority or common conscience? How can conscience decide what it does no longer understand? How can authority operate upon conscience without reason, except by sanctifying what is contrary to reason, by canonizing an absurd supposition, by deifying the unreal?

*

There must be development in every stage of religion, which is not quite extinct: for life is development in time, as the world is development in space. But where is the test to prove that the development is a sound one? Every disease has its development, which is the course of pathological phenomena; but its end is death. Where is the criterion to find out what is the physiological process of life, and what the pathological one of death? The mental struggle and agony of ages, the great tragedy of centuries, lies in that question.

*

First, certain sets of men, called priests, dispute professionally and mystically about the rites: all claim divine vocation and more or less infallible au-

thority.' Then comes the legislator and prescribes that you are to worship God according to the rites of your fathers and your fatherland. But men and women leave their fatherland and join another: is truth different as you cross a water or a hill? And if both reason and conscience cry loudly, "It is not!" where is the solution? Not in the philosopher who says: "Mind no differences: the real truth is expressed by none; find out, if you like or must, what truth there may be in any of them." Not even if he adds: "Fear God, and above all do not transgress the laws about sacred and holy things."

*

If ritual religion is once in this stage, the complication becomes greater and greater; scepticism arises, which is the greatest complication, for it despairs of solution. Worship, the practice of religion as such, becomes an indifferent form, perhaps a heavy burthen, to the philosopher, a superstitious or mystical rite to the great mass of the people and to the women.

IX.

ANTAGONISMS IN RELIGIONS BASED UPON RECORDS.

RELIGIOUS records appear in that tragic complication as a divine solution of the difficulty. They record what was the spirit of the primitive age and tradition. But they cannot record this fact except by words, therefore by the letter. The written word comes late: and, besides, it is a letter. New woes begin with new complications: for the letter has its own inherent law of development, its own tragedy, even a more complicated one than the rite.

*

The tragical complication becomes greater as the development proceeds. The rites and the hierarchical forms become embodied into ritual and liturgical rolls, and into canonical codes. With them is connected a sacred history of the origin of the people and of mankind: partly symbolical expressions of Thought, partly historical traditions. Both histories, the ideal and the real, have, by the natural laws of the human mind, the historical form. Thus arises the myth, by the same necessity as did the symbol. The one is necessarily as much the expression of an ideal truth as the other: and both are so by the same

organic law by which language originates and progresses. The beginning of the world, the primitive union of the infinite and finite, cannot be expressed in other than the historical form, any more than the notion of a being can be embodied otherwise than in a substantive bearing a personal character. Myth is essentially the produce of the organic transformation of thought into reality, of infinite into finite: it is the primitive philosophy and poetry of mankind. But then the mythical element becomes obscured: it is taken for real, where it is expressive of a symbolical idea; or it is misunderstood as originally ideal, where it stands upon the ground of reality. Historical facts are mythicized: ideal facts take a historical garb. A later age canonizes this twofold confusion, the religious idea is buried under its superstructure, as Tarpeia under the golden jewels, and sits benumbed and spellbound in the sanctuary, as the Capitoline fair in the rock.

*

To this eternal law of all which exists finitely every historical tradition is bound. A special providence can give and preserve to a race of mankind the purest written traditions: but it cannot have the intention to change the nature of its own eternal wisdom, by which every created thing operates according to the law imparted to it.

*

The written record presupposes always the unwritten law, the inward, eternal revelation made to the soul

when by divine decree she was merged into time and space, and bound to the laws of development in both. And yet the written law has a still greater tendency to set aside the unwritten, than had the rite and th hierarchy and the myth and all the offspring of oral tradition. It generally is ritual, or contains at least a strong ritual element. The rite preserves oral tradition: the record fixes it. But tradition has no right to fixity, unless under temporal tenure, and thus authority under it is divinely held only with the condition, that it ought to cease to exist when tradition ceases to express the eternal idea. The tradition must be true, to a certain degree at least, objectively, and without restriction subjectively. It must be founded in some truth, and it must be believed to be true, authoritatively true. It may be believed as true, either on the faith of the holy order which constitutes the living authority, or on the faith of the Sacred Record which is considered as the highest oracle of truth. It may finally be believed on the faith of the living voice of the conscience in self-responsible and thinking men, supported by the spirit of collective wisdom and of the public institutions of the country. But always it must in good faith be believed to be true, and authoritatively true, and that by people who believe that there is truth.

*

It is most essential in every religion, and particularly in those founded upon records, that there be

something not considered as the thought of the individuals, but placed beyond all individuals: the acknowledgment of an objective, all-ruling authority. But it is not less essential, that this be an inward authority speaking to conscience and to reason, and responded to by both. No religion without reverence for some truth independent of individual feeling and arbitrary will, and of every thing connected with Self. This is equivalent to the full acknowledgment of a paramount authority, freely but explicitly consented to. No religion without reverence; no reverence without religion, not even self-reverence. But practice, as well as authority, must be responded to by reason and conscience.

*

All religions based upon historical records must moreover pass through another peculiar crisis. The records contain, as we have seen, necessarily two elements: the strictly historical events and deeds of men which they relate, and ideas which they proclaim, not only as true, but as authoritatively true, fundamental and normal. The more the records are really religious, the more these two elements are intimately connected with each other. The facts will touch our inward life directly, that is to say, as relating to the life of a holy man, without any intervention of nationality or conventionality. The general ideas contained in the records will be historical, as expressing the religious consciousness of the founder of the

religion, or of those who carried and wrote down his teaching and life.

*

The primitive religious consciousness of a nation unites these two elements, without caring to distinguish between what is purely historical and what is purely ideal, and between what is history built upon an idea and what is an idea attached to history. This is the child's age.

*

But then comes the age of reflection. The inquiring mind (if there be any in the nation) looks for the proof as to the idea, and for the evidence as to the fact. It is in the very nature of religious records to be historical in the idea and ideal in the history. Ideal and real facts are not always distinguished; and, as to ideas, they are set down as true, as part of the historical, or supposed historical, God-consciousness of him, or of them, who declared them to be true.

*

Prophets were wanted in the former period to pronounce the will of the divinity whose oracle was asked, and these prophets again required and had their interpreters, or hypophets, who clad the obscure words of the unconscious clear-sighted seer in intelligible words. Now new prophets are needed; and, this time, conscious ones, interpreters of their own sights.

*

At the same time two opposite schools will arise among the prophets and among the people. Some will stick to the letter, others cling to the spirit. Both have much to say for themselves. What is the letter without the spirit, in a subject essentially spiritual? And what is the spirit without the letter, in a record substantially historical? But besides: Who is to decide what the letter is and means? Some say, the living priestly authority; some, the tradition of the learned of old; some, the present consciousness of men enlightened by study, thought, and earnest life.

*

Those nations who stick to the letter and authority will in a progressive age necessarily come, sooner or later, to scepticism. If every thing is true by authority, nothing is true. If every tradition is to be believed because recorded, nothing is believed. The augur of philosophical Rome laughed when he saw himself in the mirror of his colleague: so does the dervish. But then the Greek philosopher and the Sufi have their laugh too; and, besides, they have their own reasoning which outlives both them and their opponents. In the mean time, the faithful look aghast. Some think there is an end of religion, if not of the world: others, there is no truth. Thus a *caput mortuum* of theism or pantheism remains: general doubt prevails. The national faith is dying away, possibly when people think that it is beginning a new life.

*

Those nations who make light of the letter, but keep to the spirit, have to go through a great inward struggle, but they fare better on the whole. For they may preserve the foundation of all religion: the belief that there is truth, that it is worth while, yea the worthiest object of life, to find it, and the greatest duty and privilege to regulate the life of the immortal soul accordingly. But here also is the doom of death, unless the two elements which have been separated be united again.

*

In this stage, man begins to philosophize on his religion, and on religion and human destinies in general. And then there comes a stage of doubt, which, in the most serious minds, may be coupled with pious resignation. The expression of such a mind is the improved formula of the natural end of simply ritual religion: "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." Such is the last result of speculation in the Old Testament, the end of the Ecclesiastes, of the fourth or fifth century before Christ.

*

To a similar critical stage of existence the noblest tribes of men come, which outlive their youth, without having outlived their strength. But few, only, feel the courage to pass the gulf between childhood and manhood, without leaving faith behind them. Thus many of them arrive on the opposite shore with the

much heavier load of scepticism, or at least without vitality enough to plant the tree of life under the scorching sun of knowledge, and in the volcanic soil of destroyed paradise. Political nations, therefore, are apt to give up the problem of finding a positive solution of the riddle of man's history and of revelation. But by that they do not escape decay and finally death, whatever different means they may employ to cement their broken up foundation: persecution or liberty, inquisition or inquiry, indifference or speculation, materialism or spirituality. By giving up the solution of the problem thrown into their way by destiny, which is providence, they have signed their own death warrant, leaving themselves only the option as to the mode of death. For what is the preservation of life in a mummy, but death intruding upon the living? but nuisance incorruptible, and therefore the more abominable to God and men?

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Is more religion, or less, required in such a state of things? Certainly faith is required, and faith will be manifested, more than ever before. But with what dangers is the way beset which goes from the paradise lost to the paradise regained! from the blooming land of childhood to the fruitful land of promise, through the desert of doubt and close by the abyss of infidelity! Scepticism, armed with all the powers of civilization, comes to the marketplace and asks: Is not inspiration frenzy?

faith superstition? are not rites mummeries? histories nursery tales? Is not the much praised divine medal after all an ordinary coin or a counterfeit? the tradition about it a fiction and forgery? the artist who coined it, and perhaps the god or hero impressed upon it, an impostor or a dupe? So the philosopher asks: the learned critic is silent or nods assent; and the busy crowd round the market of life either burns the inquirer as an atheist and a disturber of public order and peace, or revenges itself upon its own credulity and submission by scorn and rebellion. A wide sea opens before poor humanity where a safe harbour had appeared as a refuge from the raging waves. The reaction is strongest where the moral or political constraint has been greatest. The most superstitious nations always end in being the most sceptical and irreligious; and thus often again, in melancholy turn, become superstitious when frightened by their own infidelity and unworthiness, and infidels when the iron rod of superstition becomes intolerable. Slaves who have broken their chains, without carrying self-government with them, are doomed by divine judgment to be crushed by despotic sway. This is the agony of religion. But where remains religion itself?

X.

ANTAGONISMS IN RELIGIONS BASED UPON RECORDS NOT NATIONAL.

THE religious development must pass through a peculiar crisis when the religious records cease to be national. The religious ideas were as essentially an integral part of the national life as language, and formed the groundwork, and the necessary foundation of national life. But Providence has destroyed this identity: and this destruction has become, and continues to be, the great lever of the history of the world. For, so far as the progress of the human race is concerned, universal history is nothing but the history of two marvellous tribes, or families of nations: the Aramaic and the Iranian, or the Semitic and Japhetic.

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It is a striking, though not sufficiently appreciated fact, that the religious traditions, which since the downfall of the Roman world have governed the civilized nations, are all of Jewish origin, and centre in Abrahamitic, that is to say, primitive Semitic ideas and rites. The Jews, the Christians, and the Mohammedan nations form, as Mohammed calls them, "the family of the book." Their religions

have all written records, founded upon the most ancient Semitic traditions. These are the religions under whose banner the most powerful and governing nations of the world march on, carrying light and civilization into the remotest parts of the globe. But the ruling nations themselves, God's vanguard on earth, who have renovated and are renovating the face of the earth, have long ceased to be Semitic, and have become Japhetic, and in particular Iranian. The Jews have ceased to be a nation, and have, for eighteen hundred years, not been able to call any part of the globe their own: but their national records form part of the sacred books of the Christians, whose own records are the last offshoot of life among the Jews themselves, and the founder of whose religion was a Jew according to the flesh. The Mohammedan nations which have snatched from the ancient Christian world one half of its conquests, and have rescued the other half from Oriental and African paganism, have thrown the Jewish records entirely overboard, still believing that they themselves stand upon the primitive ground of Abrahamitic revelation, and that Mohammed has only restored the purity both of Mosaic and Christian faith. The Mohammedan creed was for a long time a national one, the religion of the Arab and cognate tribes. But, since the fall of Constantinople by the sons of Turan, the ruling Mohammedan nations are no longer the nation of Mohammed. The change is

therefore universal, and it has created a new difficulty, both in the religious progress and in the historical understanding of religious antiquity.

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Tradition speaks Semitic to the Christian nations who now lead on civilization; but the Spirit within them speaks another language. The religious records having ceased to be national, the religious life has lost one of the mainsprings of vitality and sacredness. This means, in the language of the philosophy of universal history, that the problem has been placed higher: the nations which adopt the foreign traditions must perish, or raise the religious consciousness to a higher life. Their nationality must become purified by the immortal part of another, now nationally extinct or effete. And this again is identical with the problem that nationality must be elevated to pure humanity, and its faith to knowledge. But in this struggle many nations perish: much individual faith suffers shipwreck.

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The Mohammedan nations have either decayed, and are more and more decaying by the external formalism of their religion; or their inward life has operated in them merely as a destructive power. The one is the case with civilized Turanism, the other with the Iranian Persians, who have either gone into a wild, mystical pantheism (Sufism), or

sunk into that flat negativity which in Germany is called "Rationalismus vulgaris."

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The Mohammedan religion has thus proved itself not able to become the basis for the religion of the world. For it has not been able to stand the separation of its religious records from its national life and traditions, and that of its religious consciousness from their political vocation and importance. "He who takes the sword, shall perish by the sword." Religious consciousness mixed up with conquest, will die with the conquest; the fire with the smoke: dead coals and ashes remain. There is no primitive and positive religious consciousness and spirituality in Mohammedanism.

XI.

SPECIAL ANTAGONISMS OF THE SEMITIC AND JAPHETIC ELEMENTS.

THE religious complications to be solved become greater, and the problems to be realized more numerous, by the fact, that Christianity, starting with Semitic records, and on Semitic grounds, had no sooner formed the records of its foundation than it became the religion of Iranian nations. The antagonism between these two most noble families of mankind is all pervading. The Semitic nations never had epic and dramatic poetry, which in philosophical history means that they never had the instinct, nor felt the power of mind, to contemplate and represent the history of man as the mirror and realization of the eternal laws of God's government of the world. For that is what both the true Epos and the true Drama represent; monuments, of which most of the modern imitations call forth only painful recollections. The fact, that such a problem is taken up and solved by the national mind, is more important than even the imperishable beauty of the special contents of those monuments which exhibit the solution. The Epos and the Drama were the harbingers both of philoso-

phical history and of historical philosophy. It was man sitting as conscious prophet over God's greatest mystery of reality: man and his destinies in the history of the world.

The history of Greek literature is nothing but the organic process of realization of this divine vocation, beginning with the epic exhibition of Divine judgment upon nations, then proceeding through lyric poetry and the drama, and concluding with philosophical history.

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When Æschylus embodied in his Oresteia the sublime Athenian myth, that the two Powers, the stern gods of necessity and immovable destiny, and the divinities of the human conscience, weighing the motives of the deed of the son of Agamemnon, had left the judgment, under the presiding auspices of Athene, the Goddess of Wisdom, to the Areopagus, he enunciated the mystery of the Hellenic mind: that God-conscious human reason is called upon to sit in judgment over the ages past, in order to show in them the eternal ways of God to the living generations. This right is indeed acknowledged by all nations; for all their judgments and opinions and verdicts are based upon the conviction, that reason and conscience cannot be split, and that their joint judgment is without appeal. To doubt their verdict would be blasphemy, punished by that madness which the gods

inflict. The nation which first exhibited that truth in a form capable of becoming universal was, in this respect, the elect people of God.

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Scarcely one generation later, Herodotus, now three and twenty centuries ago, sitting upon the rock of heroically defended independence and liberty, and addressing the aspiring and God-seeking race of Hellas, presented the picture of the past through the prophetic mirror of Nemesis, that true and divinely deep centre of Hellenic religiousness, and evolved before their eyes the destinies of mankind as the grand divine drama of eternal justice and retribution. This great and first review certainly was an incomplete one: but no additional materials could have improved the truth of the fundamental idea, and added to the immortal merit, of this imperishable work. In that spirit Thucydides became the prophet of the great internecine Hellenic struggle, and of all civil wars; and Tacitus the prophet of imperial Rome, that prototype of all military despotism founded upon republican forms.

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At the same time the mystery of the human form, as the image of God upon earth, was revealed to the Hellenic genius; who, thus inspired, produced the eternal ideal forms of all which is divine. This too is an element which, beyond the first rudiments, had proved inaccessible to the Semitic mind, and which

has since fertilized all noble nations of the modern world.

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But the Hellenic mind invented also the art of deducing truth from principles by the dialectic process, and thus of proving that reason cannot err, although reasoning may, namely by offending against reason. And by this truly divine invention the history of the human mind and of religion has been more influenced than by any other Japhetic element.

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Tradition announces philosophical truths, but not as such: Philosophy discovers religious truth, but not as religion. Greek philosophy was the translation of the instinctive consciousness of God into reasoning. After having gone through the speculations of physical philosophy, the Hellenic genius, in the holy mind of Socrates, descended to the bosom of humanity, and looked for the reason of that consciousness in the laws of the human mind, as discerned by the dialectic science. This was again an immense deed, world-historical for ever. As Hegel says, the Hellenic mind found the mystery of the mythological Sphinx; her word is Man. It found this solution only after the wild physical orgies of the East, and after the animal disguise of the Gods in Egypt.

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Japhet is the most powerful prophet of the human

race. Hellenism, much more than Romanism, Japhetized, and they both universalized, the Semitic elements in Christianity. These elements, on the other hand, rendered to Hellenism its ethical earnestness, and called it from the idolatry of Hellenic nationality to a purer feeling of brotherhood, and from the intoxication of the cosmic powers to the primitive consciousness of the Unity of the universe, that is to say, to the first cause, God, the creator, redeemer, and illuminating principle of mankind. The same Christian elements softened the pride of the Roman mind, and made it capable of respecting the image of God even in barbarians.

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Ancient Rome and Christian Byzantium both died of Christianity, the one by persecuting it as its mortal foe, the other by reducing its ideas to dead formalism and external discipline, and by substituting for the Christian people the absolute emperor and the imperial court. Christian Rome survived, both by traditional influence and practical wisdom, and through the instrumentality of a young and aspiring nationality.

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The Germanic tribes were the first race which was touched by Christianity in its youthful freshness. The Teutonic mind had, in its primitive age, looked with deep earnestness and prophetic religious consciousness into the mystery of the world, as the Edda

attests. Their primitive poetry was heroic; their speculations were less cosmogonical than the Greek and Indian. They were directed chiefly into the far future: so was their destiny. After they had overturned the Roman Empire and subdued the Celtic tribes, they grew up under Christianity. Never a noble nation had more noble taskmasters: Christianity and the Romanic nations. But an apprenticeship it was, and a long one, this Germanic life in the middle ages; a period which national vanity and romanticism have considered, and to a certain degree do still consider, essentially and originally Germanic, whereas the Romanic was the leading spirit of civilisation, in language and in religion, as well as in politics, in arts, and in speculation. The first thought and the last application were Romanic. The Germanic tribes received the Christianity of the Councils, ready made, from a close Roman and Romanic caste of priests. They struggled hard against it. Their genius was neither Alexandrian and Athanasian, nor Roman. Having finally accepted the doctrinal and hierarchical system, the tribe of the Franks, which had made the Romanized Gauls France, helped the Romanic mind to make a philosophical system out of darkened records and confused rites. This scholastic system was based upon conventional assumptions, and more and more centred in the hierarchical government of Rome. The real Germanic genius was passive, although not inert, in this

scholastic canonization of misunderstood rites and materialized ideas of primitive Christianity.

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This apprenticeship, during which the popular poetry alone kept up, and the spirituality of individual devotion alone represented, the original nationality, lasted one thousand years.

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It was only towards the end of these thirty generations, that the German mind, in the persons of the "Friends of God" (*Gottesfreunde*), partly laymen, partly priests, the Dominican friars, Eckart, Suso, Tauler, and the anonymous priest of the Teutonic order, the author of the "German Theology," spoke out the first great word about real Christianity since the days of the Apostles. This event happened soon after the Free Cities had reproduced the old Germanic national character by divesting it of its feudal disguise, and about the same time that Dante's "Divina Commedia," and "Reinecke the Fox," sounded, although in very different tones, the death-bell of medieval Christianity. Dante, the Romanic prophet, did so by epicizing its ideality, and thus showing unintentionally the weakness in the union of the historical and philosophical elements, and besides, intentionally, the inadequacy of the reality to the idea: Reinecke, the organ of the popular Germanic mind, by satirizing its reality, and holding up to contempt,

under the form of a fiction, the hollowness and unholiness of the social medieval system.

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The great word of that German school was, that, however much historical Christianity was to be believed, and however much rites ought to be devotionally performed, real religion lay neither in that assent nor in this practice, but that Christianity centred in man's innate God-consciousness, and its practice in man divesting himself, Christ-like, of the selfish principle, and making that life and death of thankful sacrifice his own, thus manifesting the Christ within us.

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This idea is the deep metaphysical and ethical foundation of the work of the Reformation, which began six generations after Eckart. The deed and the practical thought were Luther's, but all which was in him of genuine spiritual philosophy can be traced to those men of the fourteenth century. Luther placed (a true medieval German himself in that!) St. Augustin, the father of the Romanic philosophy of religion, and the beginner of scholasticism, above those men, or at least on an equality with them: but Tauler and the "German Theology" in particular were undoubtedly his most enlightened human guides. Calvin was devoid of that element of positive and intuitive religious consciousness. His mind was throughout a reflective and a political one. Spe-

culating one-sidedly and conventionally, although with Romanic acuteness and French neatness, on the Divine foreknowledge, he produced a system in which the impartial philosopher can only see the distortion of a reflecting mind of the deepest ethical earnestness, but overpowered by the logical consequences of Divine necessity, and untouched in this reflection by the central thought of Christianity, eternal Love.

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The dogmatists among the followers and friends of Luther, although highly respectable, learned, and rigorously pious men, were as much devoid of all deep philosophy, as of a sound feeling of living Christianity. They mistook divinity for religion, and conventional formalism for divinity.

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The seventeenth century fell back into scholasticism, deprived of most of its depth, and as much alienated from the philosophy of the primitive Church, as from the medieval system. The consequence was, that the national spirit, wherever it could act, became disgusted with theological controversies. The nations left their divines to their narrow and exclusive systems, except so far as they were connected with their national existence, and endeavoured to secure to themselves civil liberty, more fiercely than ever attacked by the despotism of three dynasties, and by papal encroachment. A war of extermination was waged: the Germanic nations came out of

it in deep exhaustion: Germany in ruins. One honest man arose at the end of the struggle; he was a Jew, was held to be an atheist, and had an unhistorical mind. One spiritual sect arose in the same terrible period; it was a Society which, after having spiritualized the form, formalized its own spiritual negation of form, and consequently never became national. But still it shows vitality in every great national crisis, and lives to see triumphant those ideas of truly practical Christianity, and of the Christian dignity and liberty of man, for which its fathers became martyrs in the old world, and apostles in the new.

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The philosophy of Spinoza, still more than the diplomatic idealism of Leibnitz, prepared the way for the restoration of philosophy on religion and on Christianity in particular, by Kant and Lessing, as the Society of Friends did for political discussions and movements. Between these two periods — the end of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth century, — the Moravian Brethren, and John Wesley their disciple, had shown to the despairing world, and to the dissolute or impotent Churches, what real living Christianity is; and to the reflecting Christian people how little of that effective Christianity was contained in the national establishments and in their crippled machinery.

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With the great Romanic Revolution a struggle for life and death began; we are in the midst of it. Romanicism is vainly endeavouring to obtain political liberty by an imitation of Germanic forms, coupled with anti-Germanic centralization. It still more vainly fancies that it is possible to regenerate society without regenerating its morals, and to restore national religion without faith, or faith without moral reformation. The Germanic nations have, more or less, been drawn into this struggle. The social sins of the higher and middle classes have made the political agitation a social one. Socialism and Imperialism are combining to crush Liberty: Atheism and Superstition to destroy Religion. But the principle of the movement is not to be ruined by abuse, nor to be set at rest by force. Civil liberty has been asserted, first by the strife of the Germanic race for liberty of conscience, later by the efforts of the Romanic nations for national freedom. Both principles are too firmly established to perish in the civilized world. Still they are only the groundwork, the formal conditions, of the great regenerating process of reconstruction. The divine figure of Christ alone stands preeminent, and rises majestically over the ruins of the greatest social fabric which the world has ever seen,—the shattered house of the great European Christian family.

XII.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH, AND THE BYZANTINE, SCHOLASTIC, AND TRIDENTINE SYSTEMS.

FROM the day of the first Christian Pentecost, the human race lives in the age of the Spirit. This age stands upon the foundation of Christ and of his life, the only perfect, the only sinless, personal manifestation of the centre of the Infinite, which is Love. And still, of the three articles of faith, the third, that of the Spirit, has received hitherto the least development. This development can only be founded permanently on the realities of social life; and they are but three: the family, the nation, the human race. The ancient Church hallowed the first, narrowest circle, the domestic life. As to the civil community, it only prepared the regenerated municipal system by the religious community, the parish, and it foreshadowed the constitutional State by the constitutional Church. But its great definitive act was the new sanctification of marriage, as the symbol of the union between Christ and the Church, and the regeneration of the family, as the image of renewed humanity.

Between the family and humanity and the national life there is no real and permanent social relation. But a conventional link exists, a temporary, although highly important one: the Corporation and the Caste. The expression of this provisional incorporation of the community of Life in God through Christ is the Priest-Church, or the Sacerdotal Church. In the political sphere it corresponds to dynastic dictatorship, which, in less noble or in effete nations, becomes deified despotism. The necessity of the sacerdotal system arose from the absence of nations and national life. The existence of nations requires National Churches. These are superior to Sacerdotal Churches as standing upon a more solid basis of reality, but they require organic international communion to maintain the spirit of Catholicity.

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The last word of God in history is not nationality, but Humanity, the substratum of universality. All united life is an incorporation of divine life in human life. Christian social life is, therefore, the social incorporation of Christ. This incorporation is real, so far as the human is really elevated into the divine life, and this reality is parallel to the incarnation in the individual person of Christ. All nations are but members of that great and progressing divine incorporation which we call Humanity, and this is philosophically what is called in Semiticism, the mystical Body of Christ. This

body grows, this incorporation or embodiment advances, by the perpetual, never ceasing, never interrupted realization of Spirit. And this realization is an appropriation of the divine substance by the giving up of the selfish principle, by the sacrifice of Self in life for man as for a brother, for humanity as for God's image. The Christian worship has no spiritual centre, but the adoring expression and solemn vow of this always progressing divine life of thankful, loving humanity. In that sacrifice, Christ, as he was the beginner and the Ideal, so is he everlastingly the Mediator, or High Priest.

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Such was in reality the fundamental view of the age in which Hippolytus lived, and of the whole Apostolic time. If the truth is to be told, no one can thoroughly understand that age, if he approaches it with medieval theology and scholastic assumptions, or with the formularies of the Tridentine decrees.

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If Hippolytus and his age are not orthodox, who is? For the Nicene and Tridentine Councils claim infallibility and implicit acknowledgment of their authority, as being themselves expressions of that earliest and primitive Catholicity. But, if Hippolytus and his age are orthodox, what can the later Churches be, but, at the best, conventionally orthodox? For to say that their formulas and institu-

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tions proceed from the religious consciousness of the ancient Church, is irreconcilable with historical truth.

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This view must be carried out impartially by the philosopher. Certainly, if Hippolytus, and the age which he represents, are apostolical, and if the Athanasian system is only conventionally connected with that age and with those which preceded it, the mediæval system, carried to its logical and practical absolute conclusions, is untenable. But, if so, the doctrinal work of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, concerning Christ and the Spirit, must also be revised, and the dogmatical and ecclesiastical superstructure of the seventeenth century must be demolished, in order to enable the reforming and not revolutionizing Christian people to rebuild their house upon better foundations, and to restore a living intercommunion with the Apostolic Church and the self-consciousness of Christ himself.

XIII.

ANTAGONISMS BETWEEN THE REFORMATION AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE antagonism between the Reformation and the medieval Church is irreconcilable: not only because the medieval Catholicity has in the course of ages, and particularly by the Council of Trent, identified itself with Romanism: not only because Rome has constituted itself an absolute and infallible oracle, and because Romanism has finally identified itself with Jesuitism: not only because Jesuitism aspires to the monopoly of instruction and judgment upon science, and to the restoration of supreme hierarchical sovereignty over nations and governments. The real antagonism exists in respect of the early Greek as well as of the medieval Latin Church; the inmost principles of these Churches make it inevitable. First: the Reformation rejects the priesthood, both as holding a mediating office, and as governing the Church, or the spiritual community of the faithful. It rejects any infallible authority for making truth, whether as to the historical or the philosophical elements of Scripture; and these, as we have seen, cannot be separated entirely in the records. It thus leaves, as supreme judges of truth, under the paramount

authority of the Sacred Code, first, the conscience of the self-responsible individual, and then the duly given and freely accepted verdict of the Christian community, represented by an assembly which must include both ministers and laymen. There is no tenable position between the Tridentine Council and this principle. Secondly: the Reformation, with divine instinct and innate consciousness of God, established as a guide and support for the conscience of the believers, by the side of the normal authority of Scripture, the principle of moral self-responsibility; a principle which in Semitic language is called "Justification by Faith and by Faith alone."

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These are the antagonisms of the reformed Churches with respect to the medieval Churches. But there are also internal antagonisms in the reformed Churches themselves, contradictions between the principle of the Reformation and its logical consequences, on the one side, and the formularies and ecclesiastical institutions of the seventeenth century, on the other.

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The *first internal contradiction* consists in this: The Reformation appealed to Scripture alone, and accepted only with a general reserve the creeds of the Councils. This was instinctively right, as meaning originally, with that reserve, nothing more than that the Protestant Church has that faith in the Christian

spirit, that there is no contradiction between the spirit of those creeds, taken as a defence against real or supposed errors of the day, and the Sacred Record spiritually interpreted. The Reformation accepted in a similar way Pedobaptism, although its leaders were more or less aware that it was neither Scriptural nor Apostolic. But they found that, if followed in mature age by Christian education, and by spontaneous profession of the faith, as the essential act of the individual, it was no longer in contradiction with the spirit, although it might be with the letter, of Scripture. The German Reformers, in particular, took this view in the bright days of Protestantism. Thus qualified the reception of those Creeds could be justified, and the Churches could exist with them. But as soon as orthodoxy demanded their unqualified recognition, it signed its death warrant. For the letter of the Creeds does not agree, and never can be made to agree, either with Scripture or with the consciousness of the ancient Church. Such, at least, has been the judgment of the most learned and philosophical inquirers, and this judgment is confirmed by the lameness of the arguments brought forward on the other side. Bibliolatry, because irreconcilable with the historical conscience, became fully as great a nuisance as the idolatry of priestly authority and its decrees.

The *second antagonism* is this:—Reformation appealed to Christian reason, but Protestant orthodoxy considered reason as inconsistent with revelation, and declared it heretical, whenever reason condemned arbitrary acts; and with equal contradiction it rejected philosophy, bidding it speak Semitic, which it never had done, and never could do.

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The *third antagonism* is this: — Reformation appealed to the universal conscience, and therefore, first of all, to the moral and religious conscience of the body politic in which it acted. Now such a conscience exists only under the ægis of civil liberty, as founded upon the sovereignty of reason and law over tyranny and material force. But everywhere, with the exception of some small countries, the hierarchical body remained indifferent to the application of reformed Christianity to the reform of civil society, and often assisted despotism on principle, by preaching a one-sided divine right of princes.

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The *fourth antagonism* is this:—Reformation proclaimed that the totality of the believers, and not the clergy alone, is the Church; but it left the power of making laws, and giving judgment in the Church, either to the priests or to the temporal power. A Church where the people, organized congregationally

and synodically, has not a part in such regulations, and, in particular, in the appointment and judgment of their ministers, is not a Protestant Church, but remains so far unreformed, and either relapses into a Priest-Church or becomes a State-Church.

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With these four great antagonisms the eighteenth century drew near its close amidst those great political events and social revolutions in the Romanic world, which have now lasted more than sixty years without having come to a true solution. On the contrary, the revolutionary movement breaks up deeper and deeper strata. The religious question is at the bottom, as the deepest stratum, and, if there be a regeneration possible, religion, that is to say, Christianity, will be the fundamental element of *a new and better and durable social order.*

XIV.

ANTAGONISMS BETWEEN APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY AND THE SYSTEMS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

If the consciousness of the medieval Church in worship, as developed in the medieval Church, and sanctioned by the Tridentine decree on the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ in the Mass, is incompatible with the original idea of the Christian sacrifice, that system cannot stand when attacked by the present arms of reason, erudition, and criticism. But neither can that system stand unreformed which was at first provisionally established by the Reformers, and then reduced to a stereotyped dogmatical system by the orthodox divines of the seventeenth century. For it is less true in its positive, than in its negative, part. It does not express, much less develop, the Apostolic idea of the Christian self-sacrifice, as the real sacrifice of thanksgiving in the Spirit of Christ; and it moves, against its will, within the very magic circle of medieval confusion and scholastic fiction which the Reformation strove to break. And what shall be said of the rest of its Sacramental doctrine? The theories respecting Pedobaptism, according to any of those systems, would be perfectly unintelligible to the ancient Churches, and cannot be

brought into harmony with their consciousness and monuments, except by fictions and conventionalities. But these fictions and conventionalities are also required for our own age, and it cannot be denied that on the whole they prove inefficacious and insufficient, and do not satisfy the public conscience. Those who deny this fact, show as much an ignorance of the real state of the world as of the nature of Christianity.

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If the ancient Church is no Priest- or Sacerdotal Church, the Canon Law of the Latin Church, being simply the law of an absolutely governing corporation of priests called the Hierarchy, and being based not only upon mistakes and all sorts of metastatic misunderstandings, but upon forgeries and impositions, must fall to the ground with any hierarchical system raised upon that foundation. And, if so, what is the philosopher of Church history to say of Churches in which the Christian people, that is to say, all the non-clerical members of any congregation, have, as such, no right to take part in the nomination of their pastors, and have not any synodal action, nor any legal control and power of judgment in synods, or by synodical tribunals? The antagonism of spiritual power and of temporal power, of Church and State, in the old sense, upon which the abettors of Priest-Churches continue to harp, is gone. It is not Cesar and the Supremacy of the State (whether acting by decrees of absolute princes, or by parliamentary laws)

which are invoked against the sacerdotal claims, but the right of the Christian people, and not individually and privately, but organized congregationally and synodically. As soon as those words, *Christian People, Christian Nation, Christian Synods,* are substituted for State, or Prince, or Consistorial Courts, the charm of priestly pretensions to government is broken, and broken for ever. These sacerdotal claims are victorious in noble minds and ages against a temporal co-usurper of Church government, against an opposition co-dictatorship of the State, but they are utterly impotent against the roused religious conscience of the people. What, then, becomes of purely Episcopal Synods? What of the claim to more than a veto, constitutionally defined, for the Bishop? What of the pretension to grant one-sidedly ("octroyer") rights infinitely older than their claims? What is there of Apostolic in this? What is there that is not contrary to Apostolicity?

XV.

RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE SECOND REFORMATION.

CHRISTIANITY was not born irrational, but divinely rational; not slavish, but free: and the consistent criticism of the Evangelical and Apostolical records does not show that the glorious building of the Church was founded upon coals, supposed to be gold, or upon sand, supposed to be rock, but it certainly does prove that it was erected in too contracted proportions, both for its divine founder and for humanity, to last for ever. The Apostolic and ancient Church is no more absolutely normal than any other; still it bears evidence, not only negative, but most positive, of the comforting fact, that it agrees in all essential points with that which philosophical and historical criticism of Christianity must call the truth. Thus the modern critical and historical school (in which I do not mean to include the theology of Tubingen and the philosophy of Young-Hegelianism, in their peculiar negative and partly destructive views) has not found in Christianity less truth than its predecessors, but more; and it must and will finish, not in weakening, but in strengthening, Christianity. In judging its development and errings, it must not be forgotten, that the critical

school of Germany found Christianity almost given up in the conscience of mankind, beyond some good moral truths or some solemn rites. It is a historical fact, that it has kindled a light both in the history and in the philosophy of Christianity, and shown a power of life in Scripture, of which the former irrational method had no idea, no more than the magician has of spirituality, or the fabulist of history. What would have been done, if the subject had been taken up by the whole of Christian Europe?

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Christianity proves itself to be the religion of the world, by its power of surviving the inherent crises of development through which it has had to pass. The other historical proof is not less great: that it has been able to stand a political liberty unparalleled in the history of the world. No Athenian statesman, and still less any Roman, would have believed it possible that the Temple, the House of the Divinity, could without profanation become the receptacle of the worshipping people. No Jew ever could have imagined that religion could exist without a sanctuary, that there would be no Holy of Holies, beyond that which centres in the union of adoring souls; indeed, that the real Temple of God was to be the living Church, the faithful people. In the same manner neither St. Augustin nor St. Jerome would have thought it possible that Christianity could stand controversy, without anathemas; Christian constitutions,

without religious exclusion and intolerance; and that an independent European literature could withstand public opinion and a free press, without unbelief or indifference.

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But the greatest, the most convincing proof as to the past, and the only one which guarantees the future, is, that the Christian religion appears in the mind of its author as of infinite expansion. It presents in the records of His consciousness of Himself and of His divine nature, in the writings of the Apostles and their disciples, and in the whole development of the Apostolic system, the harmonious completeness of the only three not conventional factors which exist in the world: GOD, MAN, MANKIND.

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Neither Paganism nor Judaism could effect such a harmony; both produced the very contrary of what they were intended to exhibit. Hellenism, the highest form of the religions of nature, or of Paganism, had lost the consciousness of the divine Unity, by the variety of the ideals of humanity which it had embodied in God-men or Men-gods; it had moreover lost the consciousness of humanity, by its very eminent humanization of nationality; lastly, the consciousness of the free agency of the mind over the sensual appetite, by its idolatry of divinized nature. Its apotheosis of man and of his godlike creative power was visited upon it by the apotheosis of an emperor, and of

his blasphemous omnipotence, to which it was obliged to do homage. Judaism had kept faithfully to that First Cause, obscured in the Hellenic consciousness; but the bondage of the Law and of its ceremonial usages had obscured its original spirit, and erected finally an insurmountable absolute barrier between God and Man, and thus between the Infinite and the Finite, Thought and personal Realization.

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The belief in Incarnation is the full acknowledgment of the Hellenic idea of heroic dignity, divested of the fetters of physical necessity and fable. The Christian idea of incarnation appears, in St. John and in St. Paul, entirely independent of any preternatural procreation. The philosophical, or infinite, factor, is the principal, and may be the original.

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The consciousness of Christ of himself and his expressions about it (in chapters ii., viii., and xiv. of the Gospel of St. John) form the divine and historical, groundwork for the metaphysical exposition contained in the words of the prologue. This is the indestructible basis, inaccessible to any doubts of historical criticism, of the Christian doctrine of the Son, and of the whole second article of our faith. His life and death of self-devotion for mankind as his brethren, and as children of God, form the historical seal of that grand revelation.

The revelation which forms the basis of the third article centres originally in Christ's announcement of the Spirit, as teaching the mysteries of God, and explaining and maintaining his own doctrine to the end of all things. Its first great and wonderful manifestation and realization was the divine impulse which inspired one hundred and twenty believers, men and women, Palestine and foreign Jews, collected at Jerusalem on the first Christian Pentecost, to burst out in praise of God, not expressed in the ritual formularies, nor in the extinct sacred language, but in the living tongues of the earth, which, on that day, became the organs of inward divine life and adoration.

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Judaism died of having given birth to him who proclaimed the Spirit of the Law. Hellenism met Christianity by its innate consciousness of the incarnation, and then died; surviving only by eternal thought and imperishable art. Romanism taught Christianity to regulate the Spirit in its application to the concerns of human society; it taught it to govern with order.

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The nations of the present age want not less religion, but more. They do not wish for less community with the Apostolic times, but for more; but, above all, they want their wounds healed by a Christianity showing a life-renewing vitality, allied to rea-

son and conscience, and ready and able to reform the social relations of life, beginning with the domestic and culminating in the political. They want no negations, but positive reconstruction; no conventionality, but an honest *bonâ fide* foundation, deep as the human mind, and a structure, free and organic as nature. In the mean time let no national form be urged as identical with divine truth; let no dogmatic formula oppress conscience and reason; and let no corporation of priests, and no set of dogmatists, sow discord and hatred in the sacred communities of domestic and national life. This aim cannot be attained without national efforts, Christian education, free institutions, and social reforms. Then no zeal will be called Christian which is not hallowed by charity, no faith Christian which not sanctioned by reason.

*

As to the future of the world, the present civilization of Europe may perish; the nations who have created it may make way for new nationalities, as the Celtic element in Ireland now visibly does for the Germanic; but that holy longing of the human mind for seeing truth realized over the earth, will be satisfied earlier or later. The whole world will be Japhetized, which, in religious matters, means now preeminently, that it must be Christianized by the agency of the Teutonic element. Japhet holds the torch of light to kindle the heavenly fire in all the other families

of the one, undivided and indivisible human race. Christianity enlightens now only a small portion of the globe, but it cannot be stationary, and it will advance, and is already advancing, triumphantly over the whole earth, in the name of Christ, and in the light of the Spirit.

PART II.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

ON THE

LIFE AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH,

AND OF

THE AGE OF HIPPOLYTUS

IN PARTICULAR.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS.

FIRST SECTION.

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY RESEARCHES.

I.

EXAMINATION OF HIPPOLYTUS UPON THE TRIDENTINE DECREES, AND UPON THE PROTESTANT ARTICLES AND SYSTEMS, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF A BETTER METHOD.

ALTHOUGH a truly philosophical view of the age of Hippolytus, as to its religious ideas, doctrines, and practices, may not admit of the method of examining such an age by later formulas, and of judging it according to its supposed agreement or disagreement with later decrees, we cannot entirely omit such a comparative view in this place.

Strange, certainly, the reply of Hippolytus would sound both to Catholics and Protestants, if he were to be catechized by either. Awkward would be the answers, and perhaps more embarrassing his retorting replies and queries, if he had to pass an examination

upon the Roman or Heidelberg Catechism, or the Augsburg Confession, or the Thirty-nine Articles.

He certainly would not say that he was a Papist. He has nothing to tell of the divine right of the bishop of Rome to decide all doctrinal questions of the Universal Church, and to govern Christendom as an autocrat, whether it be by his own decisions, or by his privilege of confirming or annulling, interpreting and executing, the decrees of Councils. The Roman Church, in which Hippolytus lived and acted so conspicuous a part, was to him — the Church of Rome. He even places that Church distinctly in opposition to "the Catholic Church," in his great work, where he speaks of the teaching of Callistus, and of the school he had set up and patronized at Rome.* Hippolytus, as a Roman, knew the immense influence of that Church; but, as a man who had studied under Irenæus, the uncompromising opposer of Victor's pretensions, and as the historian of doctrinal Christianity, he also knew that this influence was a moral and not a legal one, and that it was controlled and resisted. The gradually growing moral supremacy in the West originated in the political position of Rome as the centre of the world, and in the instinctive talent of government, which has never ceased to distinguish the Romans. But that supremacy was not recognized as legal, even at Milan,

* Letter III. Vol. I. p. 131.

much less at Alexandria and Antioch, nor later by Byzance. Even in the West it was controlled by the free agency and self-responsibility of the influential Churches of Christendom. Hippolytus himself, as bishop of Portus, was one of the moons in the planetary system of Rome, and a member of her Presbytery: but, in his own town, he would not have allowed the agents of Callistus to teach, or even him to preach.

There was no great fear, however, of the latter — the preaching in the place of Hippolytus. For, as we have seen, at his time, and even two hundred years after him, Rome had no preacher whose homilies were worth noticing or copying for general use.* Theological science had been born in the East, established in Alexandria, the Athens of the later Hellenic and early Christian time, and transplanted from Asia Minor to the West by Irenæus, the apostle of the Gauls. Hippolytus had become a philosopher and a historian, precisely because he either was not a native of Rome, or had been Hellenized by his education and travels abroad. He wrote in Greek, but not merely as our fathers wrote in Latin, as the medium of learned intercommunion. Greek was at Rome the living organ of international intercourse, and the common language of the Hellenistic Jews, understood even by most of those who came from Palestine.

* Letter V. Vol. I. p. 317.

Thus, at Rome, Greek was both the natural organ of Christian communication, and the most appropriate language for writing a book to be perused by all reading Christians. If Hippolytus ever preached any of his published homilies, he must have done so in Greek, for we have many of his homilies, and all are in that language. Except the creed, we know nothing of the liturgical language of the Roman Church at that time; and, indeed, down to Leo the Great, in the middle of the fifth century. But, as to that baptismal creed, we know that it was Greek, either exclusively or with the Latin text by its side. Even in the seventh century it was delivered to the Anglo-Saxon scion in the Greek words, written with the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, accompanied by a vernacular translation. We know further that the Christian congregation at Rome, from the beginning, consisted of converts from Greeks, who were the bankers, secretaries, tutors and preceptors, valets and agents of the Romans; and of Jews, who spoke that language as they now generally speak German. These elements were united by sacred records written in Greek, and were governed mostly by members of Greek descent. The very names of the bishops before Urbanus (the successor of Callistus) are Greek, with the two exceptions of Clement and of Victor. And even of these two Clement wrote Greek in the name of the Romans, as St. Paul wrote Greek to the Romans; and in the same language Victor wrote, as

did Cornelius a whole century later. The real Latin Church was the African, consisting of colonized Romans, using a Latin version of the New Testament. The noble families of Rome remained unconverted, even under Theodosius the Great, as the complaints of Prudentius show, who wrote more than 150 years after Hippolytus. If, therefore, Greek was at that time the ecclesiastical, and perhaps, the liturgical language of the Church of Rome, it was not because Greek was a sacred tongue, unknown to the people, but because the majority understood it better, or as well as that of Latium.

To sum up what has been said, Hippolytus knew of no prerogative of right of the Church of Rome, even in Italy; nor of a sacred language, used by the Church in preference to the vernacular.

He knew nothing, either, as we have shown*, of the celibacy of the clergy. But neither did Hippolytus know that the Church of Christ was a Levitical Priest-Church, and her ministers a mediatorial body. He must have abhorred the very idea of this, as much as Irenæus, his teacher, and all his cotemporaries did. The Church was to them the Christian people, the Ecclesia in the Greek sense: the bishops had the primary duty of bearing witness of that Spirit which the Apostles received, and which continued in that community, as the preamble of the

* Letter V. Vol. I. p. 312.

"Philosophumena" says. That Hippolytus did not attribute that Spirit as an exclusive privilege to the Roman bishop, and therefore ascribed it to none, is proved by his strictures on the tyranny of Callistus.

Hippolytus was therefore, certainly, no Papist. Nor indeed was he a Nicæan divine, much less an Athanasian. I have proved by irrefragable documents, that it would not be honest to say that he only did not use the same formulas: the fair critic must confess that Hippolytus' own formulas do not agree with the creeds of the Councils, but move in a different circle of ideas. What can be proved is, that he would no more have maintained or supported an Arian creed, than wished to see proclaimed as creed the exclusive and conventional language in which those formulas are couched.

As to the Sacraments, he had not the slightest idea of the juxtaposition of Baptism and Communion, as connected by the sacramental character, otherwise than as both are the first among the sacred acts of the Church and signs of her life. Magic infant baptism, or the doctrine that the effects ascribed by the Apostles to the solemn profession of the faith in the Father, Son, and Spirit, and to its external seal by the Jewish rite of immersion, were to follow the baptism of infants, was still more foreign to his Christianity. He scarcely knew Pedobaptism at all: his baptismal sermon, although highly mystical, contemplates ex-

clusively the baptism of adult catechumens: not even is allusion made to any other.

At all events, therefore, Hippolytus could not have subscribed the formula of the Catechismus Romanus, or any one like it. And as to certain Anglican views of baptism, which are now to be made by some the badge of communion with Christ, and are praised as the bulwark of the Church of England, so little would Hippolytus acknowledge them as Apostolic doctrine and practice, that it would be difficult for him even to understand the arguments opposed to them, so far as they too rest generally on the view that Pedobaptism is of Apostolic use, and that Protestants must defend it as Scriptural. If he were to be excommunicated for such an opinion by Romanizing priests, he might point to the penultimate chapter of the "Pensées" of Pascal, which speaks honestly, although timidly, the language of the ancient Church, and goes almost so far as to say that infant baptism, without a subsequent act of pledge (the Lutheran Confirmation), would scarcely constitute a valid baptism.

We have no treatise of Hippolytus about the Eucharist, but only a single passage alluding to it. It will therefore, in this place, be the best method to refer, for the interpretation of that passage, to what we know from other sources as to the view of the ancient Church, which will be the object of some of the following fragments.

Vossius has interrogated Hippolytus whether he taught the orthodox doctrine of original sin; and he extorts an affirmative answer from his treatise against Noetus, by an interpretation which he would never himself have allowed in classical philology. But this does not prove that Hippolytus would have been a Pelagian. He would have raised many a previous question both against St. Augustin and Pelagius; and finally have entrenched himself in his strong position, — the doctrine of the free agency of the human will. He would have thought Luther's theory a quaint expression of a truth which he fully acknowledged; but, as to Calvin's Predestination, he would have abhorred it, without thinking less highly of God's inscrutable councils.

On the whole, if Hippolytus was no Papist, his divinity cannot be reduced to our Protestant formulas without losing all its native sense and beauty. There is nothing in his works which would contradict the general principles, and the polemic or negative portions of Evangelical doctrine. But as to the positive expressions, he would not understand much of them. For, to speak frankly, they either move unconsciously within the conventional circle of councilism, ritualism, and scholasticism, all of which are equally unknown to him; or they owe their prominent place to the necessity of opposing certain tenets, or the practices connected with them, and in that case the paramount authority attributed to certain

Evangelical formulas is little intelligible to the ancient Church, unacquainted with those tenets and practices. He would not be able to see the necessity of opposing so absolutely the doctrine of Justification to that of Sanctification, except temporarily, for disciplinary reasons, as an antidote against the conventional doctrine and pernicious practice of meritorious works. To be inspired by the contemplation of the eternal love of God, and the divine beauty of his holiness, to lead a godlike holy life, in perpetual thankfulness, and perfect humility, this is the last word of the solemn exhortation at the end of his great work. But supposing the point at issue had been explained to him, he would certainly side with the doctrine of saving faith in the Pauline sense, against that of meritorious works.

I shall not go on further in this uncongenial way of catechizing. Who does not see the absurdity of this whole method of understanding and judging the system of thought and doctrine of a Christian in the second and third centuries, by the conformity or non-conformity of his formulas with our own? You may thus write, with more or less success, a very learned chapter of apologetic divinity, and discuss plausibly this or that passage of his writings, but you will never find out the real truth; you are out of the centre of the man and of his age. You will, on the contrary, scarcely make a philosophical Christian believe that you yourself are in earnest about finding the truth. The whole method is un-

worthy of our age, and ought to be buried in oblivion with all the perversities, hypocrisies, and falsifications of the seventeenth century.

I have attempted, in the first volume*, and in the preceding section of this, to sketch out the general principles according to which I think that the spirit of an age ought to be investigated and brought before the eyes of the reader. According to those principles I shall now endeavour to render clear to ourselves what Hippolytus, in his own peculiar and individual way, and as a representative of his age, thought on the great general objects of Christian philosophy and polity: God and the Creation, the person of Christ and the Redemption, the Spirit and His manifestation among the faithful. The conclusion of the great work of Hippolytus, now recovered, is a complete answer to these questions, and I have endeavoured to explain its meaning fully in the fourth of my Letters.† The most advisable plan, then, to be followed by the philosophical historian, seems to me that of trying to understand those realities which formed the basis of Christian thought at the time. And this will only be possible if we connect them with ideas, and distinguish them by words, intelligible to ourselves.

These realities may be divided into two classes. The first will comprise the regulations or customs

* Vol. I. p. 320. † Vol. I. p. 148. to 195.

respecting the canonical books of the New Testament, or the so-called Canon, the notions respecting Apostolic Tradition, and the paramount authority of Scripture. The second class will contain those elements of the life and consciousness of the Church which have determined the formation of its worship and of its constitution.

If we consider any of these leading ideas, and the prevailing customary or written regulations of the Church, we find in each of them three elements: divine authority, apostolical explanation, living consciousness of their truth. The divine authority is a precept of Christ (λόγος, or λόγιον, Κυρίου). The teaching is that of Apostolic men, warranted by a canonical writing if touching doctrine, that is to say, the knowledge of Father, Son, and Spirit, or by tradition if concerning disciplinary questions. The consciousness of truth is the spirit which is in the Christian congregation, or the living authority of the Church. These three elements were believed and assumed to be in perfect harmony. All precepts which are perpetually binding, all truths which are fundamental, proceed from Christ personally; but they are recorded as such by the Apostles, or by Apostolic men, their disciples, friends, and followers, and thus come to the congregations of Christians spread over the globe. Each of them has the Spirit promised by Christ, that is, enlightened conscientious reason, and possesses

the power, by common deliberation, to carry on and regulate the life of the Church, as emergencies may require. There must be this undying Spirit and power in the Church, or the promises of Christ and the third article of Faith are nullified; but the power must be exercised with due regard to Apostolic and general liberty.

We shall therefore consider, in the next two chapters, the notions of Hippolytus, and of his age, respecting Canon, Tradition, and Inspiration.

II.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ROME IN THE TIME OF HIPPOLYTUS.

THE German critical school has brought to light within the last seventy years so many new points of inquiry, which had been either neglected, or incompletely or uncritically treated, by the old school, that a part of the present generation of German critics seems in danger, as the German phrase says, of not seeing the wood for the trees. This applies particularly to the history of the Canon. The systems of Lardner, and such as he, were built upon the worst parts of Eusebius' history, and the conventional sayings of Jerome. Their view centres in the unhistorical and unreasonable assumption, that every canonical book must be supposed to be written by an Apostle in order to possess Apostolic authority. This gratuitous and untraditional assumption was supported by as much false evidence as the forged works of the second and third centuries could afford, by the distortion of the best and most primitive traditions, and by the total neglect of trustworthy and important assertions of the parties condemned by the Church. It was not diffi-

cult to demolish such a system, of which Lardner is the most respectable representative, and to establish the basis of a critical and truly honest one. But, in recent times, the wish to say something new, and the want of real critical judgment in many theological writers, who never would have been listened to if the subject had been one of classical philology, appear to have made some people lose sight of the whole in the midst of so many details and conjectures and hair-splittings. Some even seem to have raised a cloud of learned or speculative dust, under pretence of discovering some hidden ground of truth, but in reality to blind the eyes of the reader. In classical philology nine tenths of the unfortunate, spiritless, and in part absurd, hypotheses of some theological writers, would not have been allowed to take root, scarcely to make their appearance without being crushed immediately. If I consider much of what has been said of the Canon, from the point of view of that historical criticism which Niebuhr has carried through ancient history, I must confess that it seems to me absurd to maintain that the text of the sacred books was uncertain through the whole second century, merely because the Greek text of the first, the Palestine, and therefore originally the Aramaic Gospel, existed with certain differences in details, which are attributable partly to the translator, partly to the difference of the Aramaic original which he had before him. For the hypothesis about Marcion

having, in the middle of the second century, used a more authentic and not a mutilated text of the third Gospel, is not more tenable than that of referring the origin of the fourth to about the end of the same century.

The dreams of the old school, down to Mill and Griesbach, of an infinite variety of readings (about thirty thousand!) in the New Testament, begin to disappear before the irresistible critical method of Lachmann. The evidence of Irenæus in this respect is now very strongly confirmed by that of Hippolytus, whose quotations, numerous as they are, have been hitherto entirely neglected, even by the great critic just named. They are considerably increased by the recently discovered work. It contains quotations from many of the canonical books, particularly from the Pauline Epistles. These quotations, in a new edition of the works of Hippolytus, must be carefully and critically compared with the passages of the New Testament so abundantly quoted in his other writings. The investigation of fresh manuscripts, and a fresh collation of those already examined, are most essential for this purpose.

As to the Canon itself which Hippolytus had before him, it evidently is the same as that which we find in the "Fragmentum Muratorianum," if we only suppose (what I think we must do at all events) that there is in the middle of this barbarous translation or extract of the Greek original a chasm, or omission, re-

specting the Epistle to the Hebrews. Of this lacuna, as I hope to prove in my Essay on this subject, which will be printed next year, there is an evident trace remaining in the words, which hitherto have received no explanation whatever. After having treated on the Pauline Epistles (in which that to the Hebrews is not named), the author says: "*Epistola sane Judæ et suprascripti Joannis* (he had quoted before some words out of his first Epistle) *duæ* (the second and third) *in Catholicis habentur* (among the catholic Epistles; the MS. reads *in Catholica,* which is one of the innumerable blunders of the barbarous writer, or copyist). *Et Sapientia* (the Proverbs) *ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta. Apocalypses etiam Joannis et Petri tantum recipimus, quam* (the latter one) *quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.*"

The "*sane*" (certainly) indicates already that the author or copyist has left out the undisputed or less disputed catholic Epistles: the first of St. Peter, that of St. James, and the first of St. John; of which last he had besides given already a quotation. Our words relate to the disputed Epistles; of these he admits the Epistle of Jude, and the two (others) of St. John. Now here was the place to speak of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It was not at all dubious in the Roman Church that this Epistle was a genuine production of the Apostolic age, but that Church (most wisely) did not accept it

as an Epistle of St. Paul. And, indeed, his name does not occur in it, as it does in all his undisputed Epistles. Moreover nothing points personally to him in the circumstances alluded to; and, as to his style, it is so different from that of the Epistle, that the critical Greek Fathers, even in the beginning of the age of Councils and Canons, could not withhold their decided conscientious misgivings about that authorship. But, at the same time, even the Churches which did not receive the Epistle as St. Paul's, acknowledged both its catholicity and its Pauline character, and ascribed it, some to Clemens Romanus, who has many passages from it, but evidently gives them not as his own, some to St. Luke, for which there is no tradition either, no more than for St. Barnabas, to whom Tertullian thinks it might belong; in short, to friends and disciples of the great Apostle.

It is therefore quite impossible that this Epistle could have been omitted in a critical catalogue, in which mention is made of confessedly apocryphal, even of intruded heretical works. And, in the view of the Roman Church, its most probable place, to which the whole tenor of that catalogue points, would have been after the catholic Epistles, and before the Apocalypse. This is, indeed, the place assigned to our Epistle in the ancient Bible Canon in verses, which bears the name of Gregory of Nazianzum. In the ancient MSS. now existing it is placed gene-

rally as a work of St. Paul, after his nine Epistles to the Churches. This already points to a later insertion, as the other Epistles of the Apostle of the Gentiles are arranged in them according to the number of the *stichoi* or members (*colons*) of a period, beginning with the longest. The most ancient of those MSS., the Vatican, has it in the midst of those nine, inserted after that to the Galatians, evidently on account of the analogy of the contents.

Yet still the present text of the "Fragmentum Muratorianum" does not mention our Epistle at all. But it has a most significant and evident *lacuna* between the words above quoted respecting the catholic Epistles, and the mention of the Apocalypse. Between these two sentences we read the now perfectly unintelligible words:

"Et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta."

Now we know, by the express testimony of Eusebius, that most of the ancient Fathers, Irenæus among them, and Hegesippus in particular, designated by the Σοφία, not the apocryphal "Wisdom of Salomon," but the canonical Proverbs. And of these Proverbs a part, according to the superscription of the 25th chapter, was written out or collected by friends. The passage runs thus, according to Aquila's correct translation:

" Αὗται αἱ παροιμίαι Σαλωμῶντος, αἱ ἀδιάκριται, ἃς ἐξεγράψαντο οἱ φίλοι, ἄνδρες Ἐζεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδαίων."

There is no doubt that the meaning is, that the friends of Hezekiah were those who transcribed them, but the text might easily be misunderstood as applying to " friends of Solomon," whose name occurs before. Now this allusion to the Proverbs can only be the remainder of something said of a canonical work of the New Testament, the authorship of which presented an analogy with that case of the Old Testament. And such an allusion agrees, as we have seen, perfectly and exclusively with the Epistle to the Hebrews.

As to Hippolytus, we know from Photius that he quoted it, and expressly, as not being the work of St. Paul. I have discussed this point in its proper place.*

The whole Canon of Hippolytus, and of the Church of his time, may therefore be reconstructed thus. It contained:

The Four Gospels, as we have them. Rome used the Greek text; the ante-Hieronymian Latin version is of African origin, as Wiseman and Lachmann have proved. It is not certain whether the opinion that the first Gospel was written by the Apostle St. Matthew had already acquired authority, as cer-

* Letter II. Vol. I. p. 23.

tainly it was at that time believed in Alexandria. (*Euseb. H. E.*, vi. 25.)

2. *The Acts*, as a work of St. Luke.

3. *The Pauline Epistles to seven distinct Churches:* nine epistles as we read them; although perhaps not in the same order.

4. *The four Pastoral Letters:* to Philemon and Titus, and the *two* addressed to Timothy.

5. *The six catholic* (or general) *Epistles.* The Epistle of St. James. The Epistle of St. Peter (our first). The three Epistles of St. John. The Epistle of St. Jude.

6. *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, as written by a friend of St. Paul, which can scarcely have been any other person than Apollos, the intimate and highly honoured friend of that Apostle, and the enlightened and influential cooperator with him and St. Peter. He was an Alexandrian, and, if the Epistle be addressed to a local congregation (and the circumstance that he hopes to be soon restored to them would suffice for proving it), it must have been written to the earliest Jewish Christian congregation at Alexandria, which had been tempted to Judaize by Philonian symbolists, trying to evangelize the Law and Christianize Judaism, without Christ and his Gospel. The age of the Epistle is the second year after the martyrdom of St. Paul, or the year 67, when Timothy had just been released from prison.

7. *The Apocalypse of St. John*, as a very early work of the Apostle. It is not at all certain, as is still assumed by Hengstenberg in his recent "Commentary," that the Church of Rome supposed it to be written at the time of the Apostle's exile under Domitian. At all events the book itself plainly says the contrary. The horizon of the vision is the latter half of the year 68; that anxious period when Galba had assumed the imperial dignity on the death of Nero. The strife between Otho and Vitellius broke out in the beginning of 69, and ended with Otho's defeat in April. This is the time expressed in ch. xvii. 8. and following verses: "The beast which was and is not, and will return from the abyss, and comes back for perdition." "Five kings had fallen" (xvii. 10, 11. namely, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero), "one is" (Galba), "another has not yet come, and when he comes will remain a short time. And the beast which was, and is not, he himself is also the eighth, and is of the seven, and returns" (as seems at that time to have been generally believed) "for perdition." As to the other beast (xiii. 11—18.), we have already seen that our author, as well as Irenæus, interpreted the number 666 as *Latinus*, which is the word Hippolytus uses in his "Chronicle" in the sense of *Romanus*. But here also the Apocalypse tells its own story differently. For this other beast is certainly not the idolatrous Roman power, but the power

which makes the people worship the Roman beast (ver. 14.). It performs miracles, and it causes the saints to be killed who will not worship the Roman beast (ver. 15.), and finally it excludes from the traffic those who have not its sign on their forehead (ver. 16, 17.). These three qualities agree with none but the false brethren, and in particular designate the hostile Jewish *delatores,* who persecuted the Christians in the affairs and intercourse of common life, and excited against them the cruelty or avarice of the heathen authorities. Personified in an individual, these combined qualities of traitor and seducer constitute the false Prophet (xx. 10.). And who is the type and father of all false prophets but Balaam, the son of Peor, the sorcerer, whose name had already become symbolic in that sense? Balaam is even named in our book as such. When St. John (ii. 14, 15.) speaks of the Nicolaites, and the doctrine of Balaam, at Pergamus (meaning undoubtedly one and the same person, for Nicolaus is a Greek translation of Balaam), he says of him: "Who taught Balak to throw scandal before the children of Israel, to eat what is sacrificed to the idols, and to fornicate." Now the name and designation of Balaam, in the passage quoted above, give, according to the numerical value of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the number 666. This interpretation, first found out by Züllig (1835—1840), is therefore the only one which agrees with the book

itself, and appears more than probable. All others, from the *Latinus* of Irenæus and Hippolytus down to the "Reformed British Parliament," which is Father Newman's jocose interpretation given this year, have insuperable philological or historical difficulties against them, and partly can only be considered by serious critics as more or less ingenious or absurd *jeux d'esprit.*

III.

THE VIEWS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH AS TO SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION.

THE expressions of Hippolytus on the paramount authority of Scripture in all matters of faith and doctrine are as strong as those of the Reformers. In my parallelism of the doctrine of the treatise against Noetus and of the "Refutation" I have given the beginning of the classical passage on this point.* I shall exhibit it here complete. It runs thus, in the ninth chapter of that treatise:—"There is one God, my brethren, and Him we know only by the Holy Scriptures. For in a like manner as he who wishes to learn the wisdom of this world cannot accomplish it without studying the doctrines of the philosophers, thus all those who wish to practise divine wisdom will not learn it from any other source than from the Word of God. Let us therefore see what the Holy Scriptures pronounce, let us understand what they teach, and let us believe as the Father wishes to be believed, and praise the Son as he wishes to be praised, and accept the Holy Spirit as He wishes to be given. Not according to our own

* Letter V. Vol. I. p. 252. Fabric. ii. 12.

will, nor according to our own reason, nor forcing what God has given, but let us see all this as he has willed to show it by the Holy Scriptures."

By Holy Scriptures Hippolytus understands, as his quotations prove, the Old and the New Testaments. As to the first, he uses the Canon of the Septuagint; as to the second, he quotes no books except those which we know from cotemporary documents to have enjoyed canonical authority in the Church of Rome, as the next chapter will explain in detail.

For these works Hippolytus claims inspiration; that is to say, for their authors, as men who have written, moved by the Spirit of God. This inspiration was also attributed, as far as the object required it, to such pious men as had lived in the Apostolic age, or early in the second century, and had written on Christian life and hope, partly under their own names, as Clement of Rome, partly under assumed names, even that of an Apostle. Indeed the inspiration was the working of the Holy Spirit, which had been promised to the whole Church and to every believer. But there was a broad distinction made between the works of those pious men and the canonical books; among which they were not numbered, because they did not contain authenticated narratives of the life of Christ, as did those which the Evangelists or Apostolic missionaries had composed before St. John wrote his Apostolic account himself,

nor Apostolic teaching, as did the Epistles of the Apostles of Christ. Having therefore neither authentic words of the Lord to report, nor the vocation, as some of the Apostles and the brother of Jesus had, to address the nascent Christian congregations on the saving faith of Christ, nor finally any acknowledged and warranted vision to relate, their writings could never become a part of the general Canon of the New Testament. For the reception into this Canon was not less decided by the contents and objects than by the authoritative character of the writer. Nevertheless several of them were read, even at the time of Hippolytus, in some Churches; as, for instance, the so-called Apocalypse, or Vision, of St. Peter, was read as a holy book in the Church of Rome itself. Others were read in less solemn meetings of the Christians, and, in particular, recommended for perusal to the catechumens preparing for baptism.

Now all these books were believed by the ancient Church to be written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, the principal foundation of the faith of the ancient Church in inspiration was the belief that one and the same Spirit was given to the Church, of which the Apostles were the first witnesses, called upon in a most special manner to give evidence of the life, death, and resurrection of the Son of God. The degree of inspiration was supposed

to be analogous to the vocation, and commensurate with the subject which the Spirit of God moved them to treat of. "Hermas," says an author older than Irenæus, probably Hegesippus, a Christian Jew, who composed the first ecclesiastical memoirs, and wrote at Rome, "Hermas is a book which must be read, but it never can be made the subject of public reading to the congregation in the Church, neither as one of the Prophets, nor as one of the Apostles." There were some Churches which did read it; but our author does not approve of such a practice, nor did the Church of Rome.

Thus the ancient Church assumed a difference in the degree of inspiration, and believed it to be commensurate with the internal Christian importance of the work intrusted to the writer, and with the evidence for the authenticity of its origin. Whatever came from Apostles was called the Apostolic Tradition (*παράδοσις τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*). With these words Hippolytus designates the passages of the New Testament which, besides some of the Old, he has quoted as bearing upon the question. As to the received canonical books, the ancient Church may be said, with a later phrase, to have acknowledged a canon in the canon, according to the relative importance of the matter treated, and the personal authority of the sacred writer. The Theopneusty, or theory of Inspiration,

of Gaussen, would have appeared to Hippolytus as a dangerous Jewish superstition.

The philosophy of all this may be summed up in something like the following considerations.

Scripture was considered by the ancient Church, as it is by us, as the only source of our knowledge of the saving divine truth. But Scripture was constituted as canonical by the Church. The decision of the Church was founded on good evidence, which we have sufficient materials to examine and appreciate. An impartial examination shows that where we have uncertainties and doubts, the ancient Church had them likewise, and that the ancient traditional evidence is not only in itself better than the systematical opinions of the men of the fourth century, but also agrees with the result of sober and independent criticism.

The consciousness which the ancient Church had in the second century, of the difference between canonical and other ancient and pious Christian productions, was the first manifestation of the agency of the divine Spirit.

Neither singly nor collectively did this body of Sacred Books form a new law, or a system of doctrine or philosophy. It was essentially a History; and that proves the divine character of Christianity, and constitutes the supreme authority of the Christian records in the history of the world. It was

a history, first of Christ's teaching, and living, and dying; then a history of the teaching and life of the Apostles, down only to the end of St. Paul's biennial imprisonment in Rome; lastly, a history of the communion of life between the Apostles and the congregations of the faithful, or their disciples and messengers. Also the Apocalypse of St. John is a history of what passed in the mind of the Apostle, when he beheld in a vision the future in the reflection of the past and present.

This first produce of the consciousness of the Church was therefore evidently an act which showed the prevailing power of the Spirit. Scripture contains in itself the internal evidence of its narrating a true history, which embodies the true view of the relation of God to man: but Scripture cannot constitute the Canon: the Canon constitutes Scripture as the sacred code of Christianity, and this act of the Church is founded upon the evidence of Christian men and congregations.

Here one cannot help remarking a one-sidedness of the Protestant divines of the sixteenth, and particularly of the seventeenth, centuries, which has been and continues to be the cause of endless confusion, and lamentable untruth and ignorance. What relates the history of the Word of God in his humanity, and in this world, and what records its teachings and warnings and promises, was mistaken

for the Word of God itself in its proper sense. By this mistake the faith in the real Word of God, which is the only immutable and eternal standard of truth, and has its response in the Spirit within, was obscured, and is obscured to this day; and its only recipients, Reason and Conscience, have been and are violated, to the sad confusion of Christ's Church.

IV.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND LIFE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH RESPECTING THE SACRIFICE AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAW AND GOVERNMENT.

THE consciousness of the ancient Church rested upon the faith in the Father, the only God, Creator, and Ruler of the Universe; in the Son, the Eternal Word manifested and incarnate in Christ; and in the Spirit, uniting and directing the faithful into all truth. The ancient Christians, believing in the evidence of those who had seen the incarnate Word and were sent by him into the world, felt themselves as members of the body of the faithful, a spiritual community, consecrated in truth to the Father through the Son. But as soon as Jerusalem and the Temple were destroyed, this belief and this inward feeling prompted the Christians to consider themselves as those to whom the future of the world was given, and to act accordingly. The second destruction of Jerusalem and of Judaism by Hadrian strengthened this feeling of their having a mission to perform on this earth, and confirmed in them that world-renewing tendency. But their position was unprecedented. They were to form a religious body, and they had no Law; for the Law of the Mosaic dispensation had been fulfilled and was now

extinct. The decalogue itself remained only as a moral code, and that in the sense of the sublime spiritual summary given in Deuteronomy, and sanctioned by Christ: Love to God and to the brother Man. They were to realize the divine Temple-worship, and they had no visible God and no ritual: for their God was within them, and they were themselves Sanctuary, Priests, and Sacrifice. They were to reorganize the world by the principle and example of self-government, but they had themselves no form of government; for they were to manifest self-government based upon self-control within and extinction of the selfish will. Those three negations made their cause appear to unbelievers, Jews and Gentiles, as desperate and contemptible, and themselves as godless people, as atheists: but, in the mind of God, these negations were, no less than those corresponding affirmations, the pledge of their vitality and of the truth of their cause. The future of the world was by both given to them who had in themselves eternal life. The history of the world bears evidence that their faith was true, and that they fulfilled the divine decree.

The ancient Christians had no Law binding upon them, except that of their conscience. But they believed that God had revealed himself to Abraham, and later, through Moses and the Prophets, to the Jewish people, and that the Jewish Scriptures spoke of Christ. Christ in the Scriptures, that is to say, in

the Old Testament, was to them what God in nature is to the mind contemplating the universe. But the Spirit, which was working in them, gave them in the course of the first century, or in the first two generations after Christ, the Scriptures of the New Covenant. During this epoch the consciousness of the faithful was principally directed to Christ, as to Him who was to come again, in order to make an end of the wickedness and godlessness of the world.

But already since the destruction of Jerusalem, the downfall of the Temple of the Almighty, and the extinction of the Sacrifice and Worship of the Sanctuary, the Christians gradually understood that they were to continue Christ's work of love, self-devotion, and regenerating wisdom and holiness upon the earth as it is, and in the world as it was then constituted. The Spirit within them directed from this time, more and more, their consciousness towards the work now to be done, a work respecting which, most providentially, the Apostolic writings contained no precept. It was by the agency of that same Spirit, which had made Histories the sacred records of the New Covenant between God and man, that the Church, that is to say, redeemed humanity, became conscious of her position as to the two fundamental branches of her life.

The one is that which directs itself immediately to God, the intercommunion of worshipping believers with God in Spirit and Truth. This is the mani-

festation of divine life, as thankfulness and love, through prayer. Prayer is both the consecration of Self to God, and the appropriation of divine life, and this act is by its own nature one that has its root in the universal consciousness which is in man. For it is performed by the believer, not as an individual act, but in his capacity of a member of the believing community, of believing humanity. In this element of religious life is the origin of the Christian worship, the germs of which, but only spiritually, were planted by Christ. First, by the Lord's Prayer, by speeches recorded in St. John's Gospel, and, lastly, by his dying command to remember and announce his death at every common meal. But all these elements crystallized and coalesced in Christian worship only by the free impulse of the Spirit in the Church.

The other branch of the life of the Church is directed towards God through the world. This is the sacrifice of Self in the ordinary life of man, that is to say, in the relations of the Christian to his brethren and to the world without. No law on this subject, either, for the Christians. But the command to love their brethren as themselves, to consider every man as their neighbour, and to live in the world as children of one Father, made men the temple of God. These were germs which, in the midst of the bloodiest military despotism, and the deepest prostration of national life, became through

the Spirit the origin of all liberty, self-government, and order, which exist now in the world, and regulate, humanly speaking, its destinies.

The fundamental idea of the formation of Christian discipline and government is, the existence of a Christian people, a community capable of boundless expansion, but represented by two or three, meeting in Christ's name, by every local congregation. In this community, and therefore at a later stage of its evolution in their synodic representation, resides the Spirit, and therefore the right of the highest decision as to the common Christian order.

But such regulations are not to direct the life of the individual believers, by laws externally binding, but by the power of conscience. Thus customs are formed, based upon Christ's precepts and the occasional advices and decisions of the Apostles, but in the highest instance, established, as the emergency demanded it, by the Spirit in the Church, that is to say, in the faithful.

The community celebrated common meals, feasts of love, manifesting the community of brotherhood between rich and poor, great and little; and there they remembered with thanksgiving the death of Christ, and prayed for the coming of his kingdom according to his dying injunctions.

The bread and wine were administered by the Elders, in imitation of the Hebrew organization, and these Elders had originally been instituted by the

Apostles, or their missionaries. According to credible evidence, this office had been later declared by the Apostles, with common consent, an office for life, unless an Elder should become, according to the judgment of the congregation, incapable or unworthy of performing it. These then were the Elders who in the common meals administered bread and wine and prayer, and took care of the poor, supported by the Ministrants, or Deacons. They also presided in all the common Christian actions of the faithful, whether in preaching or in administering the substance of the Church, and decided ordinary cases of dispute, the highest jurisdiction being in the full congregation, including of course the Elders. St. John established, or sanctioned the establishment of, single Rectors, called Overseers, which is the meaning of the word Bishops, as presidents of the presbytery. This form of government, as it was the more perfect and practical, particularly in such difficult times, soon spread over the Christian world.

From these beginnings sprang that state of worship, discipline and government, which, with great varieties, but in wonderful harmony, ruled the Christian world in the fifth, sixth, and seventh generations, or in the ages of Irenæus of Lugdunum, Clemens of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Origen.

The Canon of the New Testament was settled in the leading Churches, with some slight differences which disturbed nobody.

As to the common Christian worship, the synagogue had been its prototype in the first ages: afterwards the service of the Temple had been realized in spirit and truth by the Christian congregation having become conscious of being the true Temple, and their heart the true Sanctuary, hallowed by the death of Christ and its remembrance. The sacrifice of thanksgiving was invariably connected with the celebration of the Communion, no meeting for worship taking place without the faithful partaking of it. Thus the celebration of the thankful sacrifice of the Church of herself, was based upon the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and sealed by its solemn remembrance.

Some few formularies had become universal in that celebration. The Lord's Prayer, with the doxology added to it liturgically by the Christian Church, was the first. Next came the hymn of antiphonic praise and prayer, called the Morning Hymn, and having its origin in a still more ancient hymn, the words given in the Gospel of St. Luke as the expression of the exulting sympathy of the invisible world with the birth of Christ. That hymn (preserved in its more ancient form in the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament, to the canonical books of which it is appended) became afterwards the origin of the Litany, which is nothing but an amplification of its middle part. Then the antiphonic exhortation, "Sursum corda," ushered in the sacrificial service:

but the prayer of the Eucharist itself (literally, of the Thanksgiving) had sprung out of the Jewish custom of prayer, by which the father of the family blessed bread and the cup of wine. Its wording was left to the inspiration or learning of the officiating Elder, who might content himself with praying the Lord's Prayer, followed by the Doxology. Some formularies may have been written down for the private use of the weak and ignorant; but even that is doubtful. The idea of reading prayers seems to have been particularly abhorrent to the ancient Church at this solemn time.

Lastly, the life of the Church in the world was directed, on the basis of the words of Christ and the injunctions of the Apostles, by certain rules and practices, which had gradually been formed in the different Churches. They were, on the whole, justly considered Apostolical, particularly in the most ancient Churches. Most likely they were here and there consigned to writing at an early date, and collected either in the form of precepts or rules, called in a later age Canons, or in the form of mere homiletic addresses. But there was no authentic collection either of Canons, or of Injunctions or Constitutions, much less were there decrees and canons of Synods, or Councils, to that effect.

The rules and customs respecting Baptism partook both of the liturgical and the constitutional cha-

racter. There were, first, rules respecting the preliminary reception of a catechumen, as a pupil to be admitted to instruction. Then (generally after three years) came the solemn moment when the catechumen was to profess, with certain forms, his faith before the congregation, and pledge himself most solemnly, in the face of God, to be faithful to this profession of Christianity, in word and life, unto death: upon which declaration he was immersed into water in the name of the Father (God), the Son (Jesus the Christ), and the Spirit (the life-giver of the Church).

The idea of a collateral view of baptism and communion, as the two sacraments, and of a doctrine on the sacraments on the ground of that juxtaposition, was (as it has already been hinted before) entirely unknown to the ancient Church.

It is impossible not to see in this whole development the special manifestation of the divine Spirit, directed towards making the organization and life of the Christian association the regenerating element of human society in ages to come. For, according to the course of development which we observe in other religious societies, our sacred books would now be, not the Histories of Christ and his disciples, but a Liturgy as Ritual, and a Canonical Digest as Law, as a Constitution. Mohammedanism has made both out of the Koran, which itself is already strongly impregnated with ritual and constitutional tendencies

and elements. Even the Jewish development shows something essentially analogous, if we consider how, out of Abrahamitic rites, and the ethic laws which we call the Ten Commandments, a new religious code was formed, which made the nation first rebellious and then formalistic.

A century after Hippolytus Christianity began to become the religion of the empire, a process which was completed in another century. About that time, towards the middle of the fifth century, the Ritual was completely formularized as far as the communion service was concerned, partly out of really old and venerable materials, partly out of spurious and hybrid liturgical compositions bearing the names of Apostles. But collections of traditional Apostolic, or at least very ancient, customs and ordinances had been made already before Irenæus, certainly about the middle of the second century, under the fictitious names of "Doctrine," or "Constitution," of the Apostles. The disciples of Christ were supposed to have dictated them to their disciple, Clemens of Rome, who early had become the mythical defender of the episcopal principle and of the hierarchical order, and besides was made the representative of the more Judaic or Petrine view of Christian doctrine and life. About 150 years later, Hippolytus, by his treatise on "The Apostolic Traditions respecting the Charismata, or the Gifts of the Spirit,"

a sort of philosophy of the primitive traditional ceremonial Customs and Regulations, influenced, as we shall show, the formation of a part of the Apostolic Constitutions, namely, the section on the Offices of the Church, and some rites connected with their exercise in the Christian worship.

SECOND SECTION.

FRAGMENTS ON SOME SPECIAL POINTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following Fragments are destined to illustrate, and as far as it is necessary, to establish by new researches, such points respecting the view here taken of the history of the ancient Church, as either appear not to have been already sufficiently cleared up in general, or which receive a new light by the restoration of Hippolytus as an influential man in the second and third centuries, and the organ of communication between the East and the West.

The immortal work of Neander, "The History of the Church," and his special books on the Apostolic Age, on the Gnostics, and on Tertullian, may be considered as the general critical basis upon which our inquiry takes its stand: but there is scarcely a single point which is not illustrated by other researches of the historical German school. Gieseler's and Niedner's truly learned "Handbooks of Ecclesiastical History" deserve here a special mention.

Since I wrote (in 1822 and 1829) the "Essays on the Liturgical Life of the Church," Höfling has successively published instructive and accurate monographies on the history and philosophy of the Christian Sacrifice, according to Justin the Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clemens of Alexandria. They fully confirm what I have said in my theses on this subject. I have contented myself with a short, documentary exposition of the views of Irenæus on the Christian Sacrifice and the Eucharist.

The weakest point of German criticism is the origin and gradual formation of the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons. Krabbe's and Drey's researches (1829 and 1832) have certainly set at rest some uncritical and unhistorical ideas of Beveridge on this subject (corrected also, as to the Canon Law, by Eichhorn, in his Handbook *): but the positive solution of the problem is little advanced by those writers. The publication of the Coptic text of the "Apostolical Constitutions," by Tattam (1849), combined with the researches on Hippolytus in the first volume of this work, give, as I believe, the key to such a solution. I have collated the Coptic text with Ludolf's translations of a part of the corresponding Ethiopic version. But of no less importance is the Arabic version of another Alexandrian collection, preserved in the Ethiopic Church, and

* Grundsätze des Kirchenrechts, 1831, vol. i.

called the Canons of Hippolytus. Of this collection hitherto nothing was known beyond the titles of the chapters. I owe the text I am giving, principally to the kindness of my learned friend, the Rev. W. Cureton, to whom I am also indebted for that of the Apostolical Constitutions, according to the Church of Antioch, preserved in Syriac, and contained among the treasures rescued out of the Libyan desert, but not yet published.

I.

THESES ON THE EUCHARIST WHICH CAN BE PROVED HISTORICALLY.

(Translated from the German original, written in Dec. 1822.)

It is on the ground of the sayings of Christ in St. John, and the doctrine of the apostle St. Paul, that the ancient Church, with a different arrangement of the separate parts, has viewed the Communion under very different forms and terms, and as the highest act of the Christian Church, on the faithful performance of which a peculiar blessing is believed to rest. In the other parts of the service the faithful people glorify Christ, and pray and thank God *through* him as the Mediator: but in the Communion they worship God *with* Christ, as Christ's brethren, and as being one with him, *just as Christ worshipped his Father.* This view explains, for instance, the difficult 23rd canon of the third Carthaginian Council: "Ut nemo in precibus patrem pro filio, vel filium pro patre, nominet. *Et quum altari adsistitur, semper ad patrem dirigatur oratio.*" Cf. Bingh. v. p. 66. sqq.; Basnage, Annal. ad an. 397, iii. p. 159.

2.

The different parts which necessarily are combined in this celebration, are:

1) The facts of the redemption, and chiefly the fact of the propitiatory death of Christ as the fulfilment of the Law, as the real sense of the Judaic rites, even as the truth in the shadows of the heathen sacrifices.

2) The idea that in this celebration, by the inner working of the mind of the united faithful, the power of the propitiatory death of Christ manifests itself individually in one succession to the end of the world.

3) The union between that HISTORICAL *universally* valid and once for ever accomplished fact and this SPIRITUAL AND INDIVIDUAL FACT, which in the succession of generations, nations, and times is forming Christ's spiritual body: a union which rests on the foundation of the faith in a Church, and her duration until the second coming of Christ; and which the Church, having perceived it by the reflecting mind, feels the want of expressing liturgically.

3.

Every dogmatical exposition of this idea, and of the connexion between its different parts, is one-sided, and is reduced to a secondary value so soon as the realization of the inward life in the act of worship operates vigorously upon the mind.

4.

The controversies of the two Protestant Churches (of Luther and Calvin) not only did not touch this

highest view, but started from an *equal acknowledgment* of its truth.

5.

The real point of question with the Roman Church does not at all lie in the doctrine of the Transubstantiation, which forms a part of that dogmatic development of the past, which is to be reduced to its proper, that is to say, a secondary, value.

6.

The real fundamental corruption of the Roman Church, and at the same time her whole power, lies rather in the heathenish turn she has given to the liturgically expressed consciousness of the ancient Church about her *sacrifice*, and the consequent change of the centre of the sacrificial action in the celebration of the Communion.

7.

The fundamental parts of all old Masses are *Eucharistia* and *Communio*. The divisions of the first are:

Laudes, General praise for God's benefits, in relation to redemption and sanctification

Preces, General prayer of the faithful, intercession or supplication for all mankind.

Commemoratio, Declaration of the death of Christ, and of his commandment always to commemorate the same.

8.

The divisions of the *Communio* are:

Consecratio, Prayer for blessing the visible tokens (elementa), for blessing those who receive them, and all who are in the communion of the Church, together with their relations, as well dead as living (in this respect nearly coinciding with the *Preces*).

Communio, The partaking of the Supper *by all* the faithful.

Oblatio, The spiritual offering of the faithful, of their wishes and hopes, and their whole Being; a part easily confounded with the offering of the *dona, munera, elementa,* in the offertory BEFORE the Communio.

9.

If we would express the view of the old Church, as it can even now liturgically be traced, exactly so as the Roman Church would be obliged to express it, if she (*and that is a* disciplinary *question*) would retain the existing celebration of the Mass, divesting it of all that is false, we might do so somewhat in the following manner:

Mankind, *in abstracto* or *potentialiter,* is reconciled with God through the historical fact of Christ's propitiatory death, which was only foreshadowed, not

realized, by all the former sacrifices and expiations. But the operation of the Holy Ghost is necessary to make the individual, *actualiter*, participate of this reconciliation. This operation shows itself most perfectly and in a particularly blessed manner, which cannot be compensated for by anything else, in the act by which all who partake of the Lord's Supper are incorporated with Christ by the Communion, according to the commandments of Christ. All those who worthily receive this Communion are most intimately united with Christ, and through him with God and with all good spirits; and for them this *act* of the Communion is as decisive an act in the kingdom of God on earth (that is to say, in the Church), as the act of regeneration in baptism (that is to say, of the primitive baptism, or such a baptism of children as is completed by confirmation) is for the faithful *individual.* So far as any one of those who partake of the Supper becomes a living part of Christ's body, he enters into the union. For those who are united through Christ's body and blood are divested of their Self, by which, although they are regenerated, they were separated from God and the faithful people. They receive, therefore, in the highest degree, the divine power to offer to God the spiritual sacrifice of themselves, resigning their own will to that of God, in order to be delivered of all their sins, and to advance the kingdom of God. This offering and spiritual

sacrifice is just as agreeable to God, with regard to the partakers of the Supper, as Christ's death and visible offering of himself were agreeable to him with regard to all mankind; whereas, without this union and incorporation into Christ, such a work would have been not only useless, but also temerarious and condemnatory. But as *all* the faithful in Christ are intimately united by the celebration of the Supper, each partial union of them must be an *appropriation,* and consequently a spiritual *reproduction,* of the propitiatory death, a general efficacious and valid *act* in the spiritual world, a general advancement of the kingdom of God. In this action, therefore, lies the true union of all the faithful, whether living or dead, whether members of the Church militant or triumphant.

It was a true *disciplinary* view of the Reformers, not to render this idea prominent *in the celebration* of the Supper, for the Papistical abuses clung so firmly to it, that they could not be separated from it, the idea of sacrifice itself having such an indelible power over the mind. There is an analogy in the Mosaic legislation with regard to the doctrine of immortality, the belief in which was united with the worship of the dead amongst the heathen, and inseparable from polytheism.

10.

The faith in a Church rests in a union of religious

feelings and experience with one or more historical elements, forming the objective foundation. For through this union alone the historical part may be understood as a *revelation*, that is, not as a passing apparition, but as an immediate operation of divine intelligence, and as a permanently operating, living, divine power, and therefore as the totality of the different elements of the individual life. It is an undoubted fact, although it may be difficult of explanation, that such a belief may rest for centuries on a basis historically false. In like manner, *vice versa*, a Church, in which a true historical foundation has been preserved, may decay and die, and must do so necessarily, without any violent catastrophe, so soon as that connection is denied *in principle*, that is to say, so soon as all living religion is rejected, or has become unintelligible. But in historical times a Church is lost irretrievably, as soon as an inward religious life awakes, and such a connection has become impossible for the really prominent religious minds of the time, for men intelligent and conscientious. Nevertheless such a Church may support herself, *for some time*, through the good and evil disposition of human nature, through respect and inertness, until another ground of faith be shown to the inward religious experience. This other ground must exhibit itself as the true one, by proving itself to be not something lower and negative, but something higher and

positive, and by establishing itself as fact by the proof of the inward power. That this is possible in the development of the Christian Church, is proved above all by the divine power of the Gospel: the faith, that it *will* happen, is the real *faith in the Church.*

II.

THE EPOCHS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE AND THE EUCHARIST.

(Translated from the German original, written in Feb. 1823.)

NOT one of the four ecclesiastical *doctrines* is connected immediately with Christ's words or the Apostolic usage.

*

Not one of them exhausts, as a doctrine, either Christ's words or the practice of the Apostles.

*

In Christ's words is found what was destined to render the celebration of the Supper the basis of the Christian communion and divine service, and what distinguished its development from the development of all other bonds of the communion and parts of worship,—from baptism and prayer.

*

In Christ's words is found the connection of the fact of his propitiatory death with bread and wine and the taking of it, as a new covenant, as a commemoration, and (with regard to what is said by St. John) as the highest divine blessing for life eternal.

*

The connection which is thus founded cannot be exhausted either by moral application or by dogmatical argumentation.

*

The institution of the Communion received its perfect meaning and its fulfilment through Christ's death, and the pouring out of the Holy Ghost upon the Disciples.

*

From that time the meaning of the celebration necessarily was understood by the mind *in the same degree* as the Christian worship separated itself from the Judaic, and in the same manner *as the Christian community became conscious of its peculiar position.*

*

Undoubtedly the Supper was in the beginning considered as a part of Christ's Institution, and for this reason the preparatory act of bringing bread and wine, and even other food, to the table, was viewed as a sacred act, being an imitation of Christ's thanksgiving and blessing (εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας). It is evident from 1 Cor. xii., that, when St. Paul wrote that Epistle, the Eucharist was celebrated *after* the meal. Did this celebration take place at the morning meeting? and, if so, did it take place before a meal or altogether without a meal? It is *possible* that the Apostles changed the original union

of meal and Communion, on account of the disorder to which it had given rise.

*

Between this and the next tradition the separation of the Christian worship from the Jewish took place. Together with or before it, the idea of Christ being the High Priest, and his death being the fulfilment of the Jewish expiatory sacrifice, had perfectly developed itself into a spiritualization of the notions of altar and sanctuary. The Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 10.), directed perhaps to Alexandria, shows already an almost dogmatical consciousness of this idea.

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Pliny's account shows us the Communion as separate from the Agape, or at least as being celebrated before it (with an interval): "Morem fuisse rursus coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium."

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In Justin Martyr, the offering of the bread and wine that were to be blessed, and the offering of alms that were to be distributed among the indigent (*δώρα, ἀκροθίνια,* Const. App.), are expressed with the same word (*προσφέρειν*). It is said of the latter, *προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν* (i. 85.), for prayer and thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*). But with the same word bread and wine are denoted (*καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία*). In this

expression lies a triple range of notions, which may be multifariously developed. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. The three ideas, which are here put together, may be expressed in the following propositions:

Christ was invested with flesh and blood through the Word of God:

Bread and wine become Christ's body and blood through the word of Christ:

The *partakers* of the Supper become spiritual members of Christ through the Communion.

Justin does not speak expressly of the common meal, which may be explained by the circumstance, that he mentions the *oblatio* of food in opposition to the partaking of bread and wine (ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε οἷς προσφερόμεθα (what we feed upon) εὐλογοῦμεν, κ.τ.λ. ib. 87.).

Tertullian's *cœna* is the Love-feast (agape) at the setting in of the night. He speaks of the Communion like Justin; and even in his time it was the custom of the African Church to take it fasting, which proves that the meal and Communion had been separated.

Cyprian, however, did not condemn the most ancient custom, which in the African Church itself was observed on Holy Thursday. The oblation of the *primitiæ* remained, however, as an introductory part.

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That none of the older Fathers of the Church acknowledged the custom of the Love-feast *before* the Communion, but that all of them understand the celebration of it *after* the Communion to be the oldest Apostolical custom, is a proof of the early change in this custom. Meals in the church, without the Communion, were however still celebrated in the fourth century, and partly even until the seventh, as is proved by the prohibition in the Councils of Laodicea and Tours.

*

There is an unquestionable harmony in the development of the celebration and of the fundamental view of the Lord's Supper in the several principal Churches, which becomes more evident, when the individual difference is acknowledged and asserted. The existence of this harmony obliges us to acknowledge two facts. First: Special Apostolical institutions and injunctions (as it is also acknowledged by Schleiermacher). Secondly: Perpetual operation of the Spirit in the Church. The historical and spiritual factors act in this development in a manner analogous to the relation of both in the formation of language.

*

In the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries we find the *εὐχαριστία* already developed in the twofold signification which lies in the words of the Institution: real thanksgivings for God's benefits and prayer for blessing (*εὐλογεῖν, ἁγιάζειν* is used instead of *εὐλογεῖν* in the Greek Mass of the Const. App. in the words of the consecration, *sanctificare*). Both prayers together therefore form the whole *προσφορά*: both are developed from the consciousness of the Church being the *community of the faithful.* The *εὐλογία* begins with the invocation of the Holy Ghost to bless the partakers of the Supper and the token of their sacramental prayer, the so called *elementa,* generally in a reversed order, the universal prayer for the Christian Church following the prayer for blessing the partakers. But this most solemn prayer is always based upon the promise and the prayer of Christ in the Institution: the words of the Institution are therefore always read at the beginning of the prayers of consecration.

*

In how different a manner this idea developed itself is especially evident from the Petavian Codex of the Visigothic missal (now Bibl. Christina, cod. 626.) of the eighth or ninth century, which was edited by Thomasius. In this missal, the reading of the words of the Institution follows the collect after the Sanctus, with which all the Churches concluded their prayer of thanksgiving. The precatory part of the offertory,

in all the other Latin Masses (which all are derived from the Roman), stands partly between the "Sanctus" and "Qui pridie" as the conclusion of the "sacrificium laudis," and partly afterwards as "preces sanctificationis."

*

The Sacrifice, which is denoted by the *oblatio* is called in all passages, not only of the Fathers, but also of the Roman canon, *sacrificium laudis.*

*

But very early we find the *prayer, the act of the oblatio, and the sacrifice* identified, even before the *oblatio* of the congregation began to be an antiquated custom. The connection of the ideas, by which the token of thanks and of the prayers of the faithful was considered as being to them the token of the body and blood of Christ, upon which the certainty of their being heard was based, would naturally be more or less prominent.

*

But however we may combine the three points, first, the historical element, or the fact of the revelation of Christ's death and his Institution; secondly, the signs of the communion with him, as well as of the prayer of the faithful; and, thirdly, the *inward act* of the regeneration and union with God in the dividual; we can never, from this point of view, arrive at the doctrine established by the Council of Trent: that the *consecratio hostiæ* was to be a repe-

tition of the propitiatory death of Christ, a sacrifice, and even the perpetual sacrifice of the Church.

*

All Fathers speak constantly of the mystical part in the Lord's Supper with real reference to the *communion*, as the fulfilment of the act, and their feeling rests in the consciousness of the Church, that is to say, of the communion of the faithful, as being the body of Christ, Christ's brethren, children of God through the Holy Ghost.

*

If it be granted that this *communio* exists in its fullest sense (that is to say, in conformity with the expressions of the third article in the Creed), and that it has been sealed originally and essentially by Christ's himself consecrating his Supper, and instituting the Church in the communion (as partaking of his body and blood), and that it is continually renewed in the succession of generations, it is necessary to grant also: first, that the whole development of the celebration of the Lord's Supper *on the basis of the consciousness of the Church* was purely evangelical, although not literally contained in the Gospel; and secondly, that this development was necessarily connected with the historical evolution and modification of this consciousness, so that both would degenerate and disappear together.

*

It does not follow at all from this, that even the

most perfect form of the ancient Church is capable of being maintained *unchanged.*

On the contrary, if we consider it well, this is impossible from its very nature. For in every individual or common expression of the consciousness of a given time, three things, the idea, the organ of expression, and the external form (the crust, without which no life is isolated from the external world), are intimately, and for this stage of development inseparably, joined together, according to the eternal laws of human existence. Whatever appears as crust during the formation becomes dross after the decay; lifeless but indestructible.

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Viewed from the centre of that consciousness, the doctrine of Transubstantiation lies on quite a different field: the very question even cannot be started from that centre.

*

Neither, also, can such an opposition to that doctrine, as tends towards a doctrine connected in one way or another with the same question.

*

The rite of the Communion cannot be expressed by any dogmatical exposition on this subject, even if such an exposition presents itself only as an explanation of the consciousness of the worshipping mind.

*

The point from which Calvin starts in his "Insti-

tutions" is undoubtedly most convenient for the historical understanding of the development of the celebration of the Communion, with a view to refute the Roman doctrine, and to establish a pure exposition upon the basis of the Gospel and the Apostolic custom. But afterwards, in order to arrive at a conclusion and to oppose the systems of Rome, Luther, and Zwingli, he leaves that view, and places himself on the field of that controversy.

*

The theological depth of Luther consisted in the consciousness of the Christian life in God through the union with Christ, which delivers us from the bonds of our individual existence (liberi arbitrii), and removes us into the liberty of the Divine will. He rejected, therefore, every doctrine of the Communion that led him away from it, or appeared to endanger this consciousness. This view manifests itself not so much by his dogmatical writings, as by his sermons (chiefly those of 1518), and through the comparison of them with the deepest of all theological works, the "German Theology." It was, perhaps, the powerful influence of St. Augustin, that did not allow Luther to develop his doctrine as it appears there: for St. Augustin uses *also* other expressions with which that system of ideas, which afterwards received ecclesiastical sanction, could more easily be connected.

*

The associations of ideas, created by the earliest ecclesiastical custom, very early were treated mystically, the token of the ecclesiastical thanksgiving being, at the same time, the image and token of the great universal propitiatory sacrifice. But no original Christian consciousness can rest on such a juxtaposition, which is merely external, although it should be treated with respect.

*

The subject cannot either be thoroughly understood by only considering the Communion as the summit and end of the whole celebration, if we persist in taking the sacrament as the pledge and means of the absolution and justification of the individual. The act of justification of the individual corresponds with the inner regeneration, and its sacrament is the baptism in the ancient sense, as confirmation of the Christian instruction. To him who thus is regenerated the Church declares the absolution: and it is a wholly unfounded supposition of many modern authors, that the absolution belongs to the Communion, and the Communion to the absolution. Endeavouring thus to explain the Communion ethically, but entirely individually, we lose the notion of the Communion. But he only who is regenerated, and has been absolved after confessing his sinfulness, may come to the Communion without condemnation.

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The connection of the ideas of the ancient Church

about the Communion seems, on the contrary, reducible, in the simplest manner, to the following views.

The most general signification of *adoration* is the inward act of the consciousness of our dependence upon, and our separation from, God. This being understood as *word* is prayer, as *action* sacrifice; or, each word spoken in that consciousness is prayer, each action performed in that consciousness is sacrifice. The prayer itself, as manifesting itself externally in speech, is sacrifice.

Each sacrifice expresses a prayer.

That *consciousness*, whether in prayer or in sacrifice, manifests itself:

either as acknowledgment of our guilt, separation, and want of propitiation—*confession, expiatory sacrifice;*

or as acknowledgment of our nothingness (dependence), and offering of our thanks—*thanksgiving, thanksoffering.*

The *prayer* for something definite may be connected with both kinds, but presupposes always the one or the other. Word and action are only *tokens* of that inward consciousness, and are multifariously connected with each other. Both are equally original tokens. The most natural realization, however, is under the form of the action, in opposition to the word, because the inward consciousness itself appears as an act of our inward life, as the active manifestation, and, as it

were, its pulsation. That is, therefore, the fundamental notion of the sacrifice, in which that inward act exhibits itself more strikingly to man. The subject and the object of the sacrifice (the offering and the offered) are therefore identical in the real sacrifice; viz. they are united in man. All sacrifices of Judaism and heathenism (*legis et naturæ*) are *symbols* of this sacrifice, which is primitive, founded upon the nature of man, and consequently a token and indication of *self-sacrifice*. The awful aberration of the human mind respecting human sacrifices explains itself as a consequence of that idea having seized, with all its power, upon a great and strong soul, confounded by superstition, savageness, or great crimes.

All sacrifices of natural religion and of the Law, being symbolical with regard to the inward act of individual life, are figurative with regard to the great historical centre of the universal life of mankind, viz. Christ.

The sacrifices of the Law are figurative in an *eminent* sense: at first, on account of the historical connection with the historical fulfilment of their manifestation; and, secondly, because the monotheism of the Law kept the fundamental notions together, whereas the polytheism of the natural religions scattered them by connecting the sacrificial act with the variety of natural existence, and of the special symbolism which sprung from that variety.

The details in the sacrifices of the Law, and in

the great propitiatory sacrifice, are only so far to be accepted figuratively, as Christ made them so by his application to himself: an idea applicable to the figurative sense in the Messianic prophecies.

Christ's life was a perfect inward sacrifice through his obedience, and by his surrendering his will to the will of God: his death was the seal and culminating point of this active and passive obedience as the accomplishment of the Divine decrees. (See on this topic the "German Theology.") Christ is, according to his expressions after the resurrection, according to his speeches before his death in the Gospel of St. John, according to the doctrine of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, and according to the Epistle to the Hebrews (even all accommodation to the Jewish notions in the expressions and in the historical development of the argument being granted), essentially and really, and therefore perpetually until the end of the world, the High Priest of the faithful, as he has been the great propitiatory sacrifice during his earthly existence. But as High Priest he is the mediator of the prayer of the faithful. The prayer of the faithful becomes, through him and his office as High Priest, a sacrifice in its real sense. The faithful are called to be living sacrifices; just as it is said to them: "Pray without ceasing." (Rom. xii. 1.; 1 Thess. v. 17.)

The foundation and fundamental idea of every Christian worship as such, in opposition both to the

deistic worship and to the Jewish and Pagan, is therefore Christ's sacrifice, consummated by his surrendering his life to the will of the Father.

First: Christ's sacrifice is the foundation of our prayer for the absolution of sins (confession), being the propitiatory sacrifice for all men and for all times, and as such also of all *prayers.*

Secondly: Christ's sacrifice is the central point of our thanksgivings, all thanks and praise to God tending towards the thanksgivings for the redemption in Christ. As far as all the faithful are called to thank, this thanksgiving is a real offering of thanks.

Thirdly: Christ's sacrifice is the basis of the consciousness of our life in God, if that consciousness becomes adoration. This requires further explanation.

The fact, by which we participate in the redemption as instituted by Christ's death, by which it becomes real for us, is called Justification with regard to God's decree, with regard to men Regeneration. We have here only to consider the individual side of this spiritual fact. It shows itself as individual life becoming conscious of the divine life. But the individual conscience of man acknowledges, besides and above the unity of the individual, a higher unity in mankind, which may be understood as tribe or nation, or altogether universal. The consummation of that process of growing consciousness consists therefore in this, that the community of life becomes con-

scious of its existence in the divine life. This advance is necessary; for, on the religious ground, man becomes conscious of his existence essentially as of a common existence. Religion can no more be understood as the produce of individual life, than language could be as that of an individual: on the contrary, both are manifestations of the community of life, the first in the direction towards God, the second towards the world, — towards the one and towards the manifold. (See "Outlines of the Philosophy of the History of Mankind," Jan. 1816.)

The divine reality of universal life in a religious consciousness is expressed in the third article of the creed.

The origin and the growth of this life in the members of the Church is essentially an individual appropriation of the propitiatory death of Christ. First of all, because it is a real self-sacrifice. For as such the consciousness in the adoration is expressed, in relation to the brethren and in relation to God. In relation to the brethren, as the surrender of all selfishness, wrath, envy, hatred, and, in general, uncharitableness: in relation to God, in the surrender of our will unto his, of our wishes unto obedience, of our hopes unto resignation. Through these facts the universal Christian life of the Church, for the sake of which Christ died, advances and grows. If herein consists the appropriation of the propitiatory death of Christ, it follows that both the culminating point of the

Christian worship and the commemoration of Christ's death are inseparable.

So far the religious conscience develops itself merely on the ground of the Apostolic creed. But the fact of the institution of the Lord's Supper is to be joined with it. It follows from what has been said above, that the partaking, commanded by Christ, of what he designates by the words, "This is my body," &c., presents itself *necessarily* as the positive ground of common worship in the relations indicated above. The single parts of the sacred action are therefore also to be connected with those ideas, but in such a way as not to deviate from Christ's institution.

I. The *Oblatio* of the ancient Church was therefore at first the natural token of the prayers which were offered by the faithful instead of the prefigurative and external gifts. These prayers may be threefold: first and principally, thanks and praise to God for the redemption through Christ; secondly, such prayers as spring from this feeling; lastly, the vow to live in Christ, and the prayer for strength to be able to do so. The *oblatio*, viz. that which is offered, and the action of offering it, was therefore in the last sense, the token of the real *oblatio*, or of the self-offering. But this token was a natural one, because it represented at the same time that ground on which we base thanks, prayer, and self-sacrifice, and therefore the whole adoration. This association of ideas stands in connection with the relation to God. With regard to

the relation to the partakers, the action of the *oblatio* is a token of the Communion, and that which is offered (*oblatum*) is the pledge of it in its symbolical signification; and it is not to be wondered that the mysticism of the ancient Church saw in the material quality of the bread (*ex multis unum factum*), a symbol of the Communion and unity of the faithful in the Church.

Those who offer (*offerentes*) are therefore, according to the outward appearance, the single individuals, according to the meaning, their community (*ecclesia, τὸ κοινόν*).

That which is offered (*oblatum*) is, according to the outward appearance, the *elements:* symbolically the prayer (*preces*), in the highest sense the Church (*ecclesia*), the adoring faithful people themselves: sacramentally "Christi corpus et sanguis."

The *oblatio* is the action of offering agreeable donations to God, as a token of our adoration, and as a token of the ground of this adoration, Christ.

II. The *Consecratio* is

First:

The prayer for blessing the partaking of the Communion, and therefore a prayer for blessing the *elements.* This is called *sanctificatio* according to the idea: everything is sanctified by the word of God.

Secondly:

The prayer for blessing the partakers. But as the partaking of it presupposes a community, the Church,

it is very natural that a general intercessory prayer should follow it. The connection between token and meaning becomes necessarily more prominent here than in the oblation. All that is prayed and thought is done with reference to the approaching participation of the Communion, by which it becomes, as it were, sealed; the tokens themselves are considered already in their sacramental meaning, and therefore to us, according to Christ's promise, that on which our redemption is founded, and that which renders possible the growth and accomplishment of our spiritual life in the union with God. The vow of our self-sacrifice, connected with the *consecratio*, therefore, may very naturally take place here together with the prayer that God may accept, that is to say, consummate it, and with the profession of our faith that he is willing to do it, and will do it, as far as we are Christ's members, and are to be one with him. We have therefore:

consecratio elementorum oblatorum,
consecratio precum oblatarum,
consecratio offerentium, ecclesiæ.

All this has no meaning as celebration of the Lord's Supper, without a following *communio*, even less than the *oblatio* would have without the *consecratio*. The pious contemplation of the truths of religion to which these actions refer may certainly be the object of devotion: one may understand the possibility that it should be made the foundation of

an ecclesiastical service, but it is never, and can never become, the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

III. The *Communio*, the consummation of what has been prayed for in faith:

In relation to bread and wine, as far as they are the means of grace, spiritual nourishment, and the strengthening of spiritual life:

In relation to the partakers, as far as they participate in the redemption through Christ, and in his propitiatory death, in such a way that Christ's life in the faithful (the life of the Church, the being of the Holy Spirit) is growing through them, and that they die to the world and live in God.

IV. *Postcommunio.* After the *communio*, the religious feeling is first expressed as *thanks* for the blessing that has been received; and it is quite natural that the vow, which springs from the feeling of this blessing, should be expressed at this place, and that the real *oblatio* (the self-offering) should become connected with the *gratiarum actio* of the *postcommunio*.

All that has been said proves how differently the parts of this celebration may be developed, without deviating from Christ's institution, and without effacing the fundamental idea of the Christian worship. The ancient liturgies would show this difference at the side of the unity of the fundamental

idea (as, in a similar manner, languages do, that are formed among spiritually kindred nations), if the composition of written formularies had not happened rather late, and if the Roman Church had not succeeded first in suppressing the original rites differing from the Roman ritual, and afterwards in destroying and partly adulterating those monuments. An impartial and conscientious study of the ecclesiastical authors of the first four centuries would point out both the unity of consciousness of the ancient Church and the difference of that fundamental idea. This would give an inward history of the development of the Christian worship, which ought to be the central point of a Christian ecclesiastical history.

The circumstances which separate the epochs of this development coincide exactly with the great epochs of general ecclesiastical history.

1. The separation of the Christian worship from the Jewish service, nearly cotemporary with the destruction of Jerusalem.—The whole, individual and common, pious and historical, religious consciousness connected itself now necessarily in a much more comprehensive manner with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The persecution and oppression of the Christians must, of course, have called forth the whole efficacy of the Communion with regard to the union of the partakers among themselves, as well as with regard to God and Christ. This I would call the consciousness of the Church as the community of

Christ, and efficacious to sanctify the fundamental relations of human existence.

2. Triumph of the Christian religion in the Roman empire; consciousness of the Church as to her calling to penetrate the civil life, as she worked before to penetrate the domestic relations.—The *oblatio* became necessarily an action of long duration in the principal Churches; its solemnity necessarily increased, through its worldly importance; the stewards of the sanctuary alone ruled in its precincts, whereas the laymen, including the lords of this world, stepped from their seats into the chancel only for a moment in order to offer their gifts. The tendency grew up to propitiate and conquer the heathen element by a higher solemnity and dignity of the service. The *consecratio* contained the prayers for the empire of the world; it was also for its preservation that the *hostia immaculata* was offered and consecrated by prayer. The dogmatical controversies penetrated into both parts, the *oblatio* and the *consecratio*, modifying the ceremonies as well as the prayers. But the *communio* sank, whilst the preparatory service rose. "In vain," St. Chrysostom exclaims, "we stand at the altar to administer the sacrament: you remain aloof." Hence the Communion of the clergy *sometimes* without the people communicating, although they remained present. But without Communion there was no celebration of the Lord's Supper, and indeed scarcely any common worship without this celebra-

tion. All examples of the contrary (brought forward to prove a clebration without Communion) are futile proofs of ignorance or of dishonesty.

At least half a century passed by in this epoch, before a fixed liturgy had been composed in writing. The order of the celebration, to which the ecclesiastical writers refer, from whose works the expressions of those liturgies are partly taken (which bear their names with the same right as others those of the evangelists and apostles) was in general very similar to the order of those later liturgies; but the single prayers, especially of the consecration, were, according to the testimony of St. Basil, nowhere fixed. Nevertheless, all extant liturgies preserve the consciousness of the Communion being the central point of the celebration, and the preceding parts have been interpolated considerably later. Had the Codex Barberinus, once belonging to the library of San Marco, not lost (who would believe accidentally? since Bessarion and Leo Allatius had their hands in it) that Quinternio which contained the consecration, we should have an authentic record of this part of the service at least as old as the seventh century. The essential points, however, may still be discovered by comparing the more ancient Oriental translations with the Greek manuscripts.

It is remarkable that the regulation of the Canon, which was ordered to be made by Gregory the Great, and which has become of such importance

for the history of the world, comes from a man who is only known to us as "Scholasticus." A prolixity of the prayers between the *Sanctus* (being the end of the *gratiarum actio*) and the words of Institution, viz. of the *oblatio* in the stricter sense, forms its principal peculiarity. This part is the more ancient element, only that, in its original form, it may have contained the consecration also. The dogmatic system of the next period could not have developed itself *in the way it did* out of the liturgy of the Spanish (Visigothic) Church.

3. Consciousness of the Church as an external visible institution (*abstracte*).—The ancient consciousness of the Church as being the unity of the faithful people, and existing only in them, is now by a metastasis transferred to that ground (of the Church as government). This becomes evident by the decay of the real *oblatio*, and the prevalence of the custom to celebrate mass without any Communion; so that the priest makes it the form of his official prayer, and thus represents externally, by his praying and receiving, the inner action of the faithful in the Communion.

The inquiries, which have hitherto been made, have advanced so far as to show that the epoch of this change is the ninth century, in which were also written the influential commentaries of Paschasius Radbertus, Walafrid Strabo, Amalarius, and others. But Walafrid says still expressly, one ought to con-

fess that at least three persons are necessary for the celebration of mass: *celebrans, ministrans, offerens.*

4. When the oblation had become an obsolete custom, the ecclesiastical idea of the *oblatio* was retained. It now became necessary to strengthen that ceremony by spiritualizing it. Every symbolicism becomes more free when it loses its substratum, and the symbolical explanation develops itself independently. As this threw the *communio* still more into the background, so on the other hand the spreading of the *missæ solitariæ* raised the importance of the symbolical oblation and consecration.

From that time the Canon of the Latin Church, with the exception of Spain, became universal, and as to the West was considered in the same light as the Bible, viz. as the material of devotion. The text is interpreted according to an idea which is unhistorically conceived and developed. That part which was more prominent in the liturgy, viz. the oblation and consecration, became the basis of this system, and the central point of the celebration was fixed in the act of consecration: and the subject of the oblation (the offering person) was understood throughout to be the Church hierarchy, or what is called in the modern sense the Communion of the Saints. If we imagine on the other hand the vitality and creative power of the inner religious life, which received its direction and form from the most eminent minds of Europe, we cannot at all wonder that the inexhaustible and

indelible mysticism of feeling concerning the adoration as a sacrifice became rapidly more and more fixed, and coalesced more intimately with the view of the propitiatory sacrifice of the Church. For the task of a philosophical and historical explanation had become impossible. The consciousness of the Church moved, as by a charm, within this circle, and could only find its satisfactory expression in most strongly pronouncing the reality of an ecclesiastical reproduction of the sacrifice.

5. It was only in the thirteenth century that the offertory became developed spiritually by the Franciscans, and was received into the mass; a set of prayers, that God would mercifully accept the *oblatio*, were used instead of the psalm verses formerly sung by the choir during the offering of the people.

6. It is not clear at what time the custom began, which now prevails in the Latin Church, at least at Rome, never to give the Communion to the people during the mass, as it formerly was always done. Whenever there is a Communion of the people, the priest reads mass, to which the people listen, and after the *postcommunio* has been read, and the benediction given, the laymen receive the host.

III.

THE NATURE OF THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE.

(Extract from a Letter to the late Rev. Dr. Nott, Winchester. Dated: On the Capitol, Christmas-day, 1829.)

THE idea of *sacrifice* is so much the natural and necessary foundation of every religious worship, that it appears as such, not only in the dispensation of God's revelations by the Scripture, but in all Pagan religions, from the Hindoo and Greek down to the negro and the inhabitant of California. The horrors and abominations which the desire of effecting the sacrifice produced, for instance in the service of Moloch, prove only how deeply the same is founded in human nature. When man feels his indestructible connection with the Divinity, in consequence of that voice of conscience, which St. Paul mentions when speaking of the Pagans, this connection appears to him *either* as that of a *dependence* upon an almighty and benevolent power, or as that of a *separation* from a more intimate connection, a real union broken by acts which provoked the divine wrath. The first feeling will prompt him to *thank*, the second to attempt to *propitiate*. As his prayers will be those of thanksgiving or those of penitence, so the acts by

which he feels the want to show and manifest his feelings, will be attempts either to thank God or to soothe his wrath. All such acts fall under the idea and denomination of sacrifice, which implies that what is offered to God as a gift is considered on the one side as our property and part of ourselves, and on the other as belonging to Him. All sacrifices, therefore, are sacrifices of *praise and thanksgiving* (sacrificia laudis, *θυσίαι εὐχαριστικαί*), or of *atonement* (sacrificia propitiatoria, *θυσίαι ἱλαστήριαι*).

Now, it is a mere corollary from the first truth revealed to us by Scripture on the fall of mankind, that man by himself could neither effect such a real atonement for his sins as might appease divine justice, nor that act of thanksgiving which would answer eternal love. For, in order to offer this latter sacrifice, his mind ought to be first entirely relieved and delivered from the consciousness of sin and of the divine wrath, that is to say, a perfect, everlasting, and all-relieving atonement ought first to have been found; and again, there being and remaining the fear and consciousness of the divine wrath in the mind of the natural man when approaching the Deity, every attempt to find and effect such an atonement by offering even the dearest thing or person, or by excruciating himself, must only increase the despair of being reconciled to God, or confirm men in external rites and ceremonies.

Only one way remained, therefore, for a divine revelation which for ages would prepare what was

once to be accomplished, and this is the system of the Levitical worship and sacrifice, as a *type*, and as such a consoling *promise* and hope of what was reserved to the people of God, and through the same to all the nations of the earth.

The sacrifices of the Old Testament are typical, and according to their peculiar character, all sacrifices of thanksgiving, with the exception of that one great and awful sacrifice of propitiation or atonement, which in its typical nature is so clearly described and explained in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Christ was the real victim of propitiation, his death the only all-satisfactory sacrifice of atonement.

It is now necessary to establish that the sacrifices of the other order were *also typical*, that they did not *end*, but *begin*, with the great sacrifice of propitiation, and that they form that true and perfect worship of God in Christ, which we are called to perform. It is clear, from the elementary principles just now laid down, that the atonement having once been found, the possibility was given to accomplish the real sacrifice of gratitude, to offer up the perfect thanksgiving. For he who believes in the atonement of Christ can approach God the Father with that feeling of pure gratitude and love which is not disturbed by the fear which the consciousness of our sinful state and our past sins necessarily creates and carries with it. Let us now examine more closely what the offering of

gratitude, or the sacrifice of thanks and praise means, if considered in the light of the Gospel.

The Christian feels, that not only whatever he *has*, but also whatever he *is*, he has and is by the gift and grace of his Heavenly Father, and that his life and he himself belong to God, and are to be consecrated to His service. He therefore can only show his filial gratitude by offering himself and his whole life as a living sacrifice unto God. To do this the Christian is expressly exhorted by St. Paul in the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and by St. Peter in that wonderful passage (1 Ep. ii. 6—9.) which contains the whole doctrine of Christian sacrifice, and of the true and reasonable service. The same is said lastly in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 15.): "By Christ therefore let us offer the sacrifice to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name." This worship, therefore, is understood by the words of our Saviour, where he says (St. John, iv. 24.): "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him *in spirit and in truth*," all other worship being either external, or only a shadow of the truth revealed by and through Christ.

It seems evident that what is to be the principle of the *whole life* of the Christian is also to be the principal and central point of *that part* of it which is consecrated by divine institution, and by an internal necessity of the human mind, to the common worship or service of God in particular.

But it is necessary here to enter more fully into the nature of this service, as being not only *a* sacrifice, but the only possible, real and true one, *the* sacrifice of redeemed man. As Christ was the only real victim of propitiation, so he is at once the only High Priest to us, who are priests and victims ourselves in gratitude, but only so far as we belong to his spiritual body, his real Church; and therefore, in the last instance, it must be said, that as Christ effected the only good and valid sacrifice of propitiation, thus he alone accomplished in His spiritual body the only good and valid sacrifice of praise and thanks. The former sacrifice was once made by Christ during the thirty-three years of his life on earth, and sealed by his death: the second is continually being made, through the succession of the ages, from the moment of his ascension to heaven till his second coming. The *substratum* of the former is his own human body; that of the second is his spiritual body, the number of his elect, which is growing and increasing through all nations and ages to the final consummation of all things.

After having thus explained what we mean by saying that *the Christian* offers the real sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving by offering himself, we may repeat without being misunderstood, that in this real sacrifice, of which all others were only shadows or types, man united the functions of priest and of victim, of him who offers and of the thing offered. In

all false and typical sacrifices subject and object were distinct, and became only united by acts of insanity and abomination, which acts on the other hand proved the inward consciousness, that the only real sacrifice is the human and self-offering sacrifice.

It is only, I presume, by considering the nature of the Christian sacrifice, as the perpetual, constantly renewed *act* of gratitude and self-sacrifice of every redeemed soul in Christ's Church, or, if I may use such an expression, as the *pulsation of the Christian life* continuing through all ages, that we can thoroughly explain why neither the Saviour nor his Apostles left us any more distinct command and injunctions as to the form of the Christian service. Not only was its foundation, its central point, distinctly laid down, but also the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as the sacred remembrance of his sacrifice and atonement, had been enjoined as object of the Christian service in public worship.* The *act* of the redeemed Christian offering up himself as a living sacrifice of praise and thanks was to be sealed by the *remembrance* of the act of Christ, the atoning Saviour, which alone gives the Christian that free

* This passage would be more clearly and correctly expressed thus:

Its foundation, its central point, was not only distinctly laid down, but also connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as with the sacred remembrance of his sacrifice and atonement, when this celebration became a part of the public Christian worship. (1851.)

access to the Father which enables him to perform this act of gratitude in full hope and firm belief that He will ratify it, and hold it acceptable through Jesus Christ and on account of his merits. The spiritual food which we receive in the Lord's Supper, as it is *in general* a nourishment for the regenerate soul, so is it in particular a means of grace for being filled with that filial gratitude, and with that fraternal charity towards all men, which alone can make us offer ourselves to God with as much sincerity as humility, resign our will unto His holy will, and aspire to the perfect freedom of the children of God by giving up our self-will and self-love to his divine service. The worthy remembrance of the great sacrifice of atonement prompts us to make the holy vow of a consecration of ourselves in that spirit of thankfulness, by which the receiving of Christ's body and flesh manifests its blessing within us. It is the sign and manifestation of that spiritual life which Christ has promised to feed and to strengthen by the the partaking of his body and flesh in faith. Christ feeds the members of his spiritual body, the faithful considered as one, his Church, by the sacramental signs and consecrated symbols of his own personal body and flesh. This same truth may also be expressed in the following way. The Church (viz. the real members of Christ's body united in brotherly fellowship, and ruled by Christ's word) in receiving him, who offered himself for her to be an everlasting pro-

pitiation, filled with gratitude and filial thankfulness, offers up herself as a living sacrifice of praise. Or: the Church receiving Christ's sacramental body and flesh, expresses her gratitude, and manifests that life which is become her own as a living member of Christ's spiritual body, by offering up *herself* in gratitude and praise.

It is clear, that this truth, as simple as it is profound, may be expressed in many different ways: even that it *must* be expressed in different ways, according to the development of Christ's Church on earth, and of her consciousness of the internal grounds of her actions, according to the times and circumstances in which she finds herself, according to national character, and according to the individual moving of the Spirit within her. Thus, as the immortal Hooker so beautifully proves, even the Apostolical Church, if we had what we are totally without, the exact words and rites according to which the Apostles, in their various Churches, celebrated the Christian service, could not be, as to the letter and in its particulars, a model for all future times. It is its spirit, its fundamental regulations, which are to be followed by us, as the expression and working of that Divine Spirit, which dwelt so particularly in her.

But it is also clear, that the two great central points, the sacramental remembrance of the one sacrifice, and the offering up of the other, both prepared by the hearing of the word of God, and by the sincere

acknowledgment of our sins and the profession of our faith, and aided finally by those means which present themselves as useful and salutary,—it is also clear, I say, that these two great central points of the Christian service must have created and maintained, in the Christian-Churches, a certain typical uniformity and that *consensus universalis* of the Churches, spread in different parts of the world, which at once will be the proof of their universal (Catholic) spirit and of their Christian liberty.

No fact in universal history is better proved than this. Striking as the differences and peculiarities of the several ancient Churches are, their uniformity is still more striking, and really wonderful. It is the same with the expressions of the *Fathers* of the Church about the Christian sacrifice. *All* their expressions and allusions, all their expositions and deductions, can only be explained and understood by that fundamental view of the Christian sacrifice, which has been laid down in these pages. *Sacrifice* is, and remains, the word to express the essence of the service: the same word is used to denote that sacrifice which we commemorate in our prayers, which we confess in our creed, the blessed remembrance of which we celebrate in the Lord's Supper, and likewise that sacrifice which is the constant act and manifestation of the Church herself, the praise and thanksgiving which, in the perfect sense of the word, is nothing but the *offering up of ourselves in charity and love*, to the

will of our heavenly Father and for the good of our brethren. In a similar way the name of this sacrifice of praise (*εὐχαριστία*) denotes also the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which necessarily is connected with the same.

Of all the Fathers of the Church no one speaks so profoundly on this awful subject as the great and immortal bishop of Hippon, St. Augustin, who, in the tenth book of his *Civitas Dei*, expounds the Christian doctrine of sacrifice. The sixth chapter of that book is particularly important; it begins with the definition of sacrifice: "A true sacrifice is every work which is done that we may be connected with God by holy fellowship, that is, referred to that end of all good by which we truly can be happy."*

He goes on then to show that even a work of charity, or of temperance and abstinence, if it be *not* done on account of God (propter Deum) is *not* a sacrifice. But we are commanded by the Apostle to do such acts from this motive (Rom. xii. 1.): "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." He adds most beautifully: "How much more then does the soul become a sacrifice, when it gives itself entirely up to God that it may be kindled by his divine love, and

* "Verum sacrificium est omne opus quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhæreamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni quo veraciter beati esse possimus."

thus may lose the form of worldly concupiscence, being remodelled by becoming subject to Him, who is, as it were, the immutable form, and become acceptable to Him by what it received from His beauty! And this is what the Apostle says in what follows: 'And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove, what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.' Since, therefore, the true sacrifices are works of mercy, either directed towards ourselves, or towards our neighbour; and whereas works of mercy are done for no other purpose but in order to free us from misery, and render us thus blessed, — and this is only done by that good of which it is said, 'It is good for me to draw near to God;' it follows that the whole redeemed people (civitas), that is to say, the congregation and society of the Saints (faithful), is offered up to God as a universal sacrifice by the High Priest, who, in his passion, offered himself up for us in the form of a servant that we might become the body of so great a head. For this form of a servant he offered up, in this form he was offered up: because, touching this, he is the mediator, in this same he is the priest, in this the sacrifice. Therefore the Apostle continues: 'For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he is to think, but to think soberly, according as God hath

dealt to every man the measure of faith. For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office; so we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.' This is the sacrifice of Christians, 'many being one body in Christ.' And this, in the sacrament of the altar, known to the faithful, the Church celebrates, where she is taught that, in that thing [Christ's sacramental body] which she offers up, she herself *is offered up.*" *

* "Quanto magis anima ipsa, cum se refert ad Deum, ut igne amoris ejus accensa, formam concupiscentiæ secularis amittat eique tanquam incommutabili formæ subdita reformetur, hinc ei placens, quod ejus pulchritudine acceperit, fit sacrificium! Quod idem Apostolus consequenter adjungens: '*Et nolite,*' inquit, '*conformari huic sæculo: sed reformamini in novitate mentis vestræ, ad probandum vos, quæ sit voluntas Dei, quod bonum et beneplacitum et perfectum.*' Cum igitur vera sacrificia opera sint misericordiæ, sive in nos ipsos, sive in proximos, quæ referuntur ad Deum, opera vero misericordiæ non ob aliud fiant, nisi ut a miseria liberemur, ac per hoc ut beati simus; quod non fit, nisi bono illo, de quo scriptum est: *Mihi autem adhærere Deo bonum est;* profecto efficitur, ut tota ipsa redemta civitas, hoc est congregatio societasque sanctorum, universale sacrificium offeratur Deo per sacerdotem magnum, qui etiam se ipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, ut tanti capitis corpus essemus, secundum formam servi. Hanc enim obtulit, in hac oblatus est; quia secundum hanc mediator est, in hac sacerdos, in hac sacrificium est. . . . . '*Dico enim,*' inquit, '*per gratiam Dei, quæ data est mihi, omnibus, qui sunt in vobis, non plus sapere, quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad temperantiam, sicut unicuique Deus partitus est secundum mensuram. Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eosdem actus habent, ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo; singuli autem, alter*

Neither this passage *nor any other* of an ancient Father can be understood, if applied to the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, according to which the perpetual sacrifice of the Christian Church is a propitiatory one, and not of praise, and consists not in the spiritual self-offering of the faithful, who are taught by the word of God, and refreshed by the sacramental body of Christ, but in the saying of the words of consecration, or rather in the repetition of the words of the Institution of the Sacrament, made by the priest over the host.

No change ever was greater, no perversion had ever more pernicious results for the whole history of Christ's Church, and still none was easier, was more natural, and as it were necessary, so soon as the fundamental ideas of *Church, Priesthood,* and *Sacrifice* were perverted from their highest spiritual sense to the outward and heathenish one, according to which the Church is the governing body of Christ's faithful people. Priests are the ministers of the Church, and therefore sacrifice is the sacred work or action which these priests perform as such. As soon as the promises made to the real Church of God (which is contained in the external Church, as the believers were in the ark)

alterius membræ, habentes dona diversa secundum gratiam, quæ data est nobis.' Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum: '*multi unum corpus in Christo.*' Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re, quam offert, ipsa offeratur."

are applied in all their extent to this external Church and even its governors, and as soon as the right and duty of spiritual priesthood exercised by every Christian under the one great High Priest are superseded by the acts and privileges of the officiating ministers of that Church, the Communion becomes an accessory only to the consecration, that is to say, to the formal act of the priest; and the perpetuity of sacrifice, taught by Malachi and by the whole Scripture, as well as by the Fathers, instead of being found in the ever new act of self-offering of regenerated souls in the holy fellowship of Christ's Church, must be looked for in the never ceasing repetition of that act of consecration, as being a repetition of the one great act of atonement made on the cross.

The great epoch in ecclesiastical history, which I consider as the critical point in the history of the liturgy, is the *fifth century*, when the Communion ceased to be generally frequented by as many of the faithful people present as were not prohibited by the canons of the Church from drawing near the altar. Down to this period the real εὐχαριστία, the real *act* of the Christian service, the offering up of the assembled people, as of one, to God in praise and thankfulness, was necessarily connected with the celebration of the Communion. The expressions relating to the sacrifice offered up, and those belonging to the sacrifice commemorated, were always united in the same service, so that, for instance, the *Præfatio*, "Sursum corda" (a

formula which had become of almost universal usage even in the second century, as the beginning of the solemn offering of praise and thanksgiving), might appear also as the beginning of the celebration of the Communion, although it is evident that it must be attributed exclusively to the first, and not to the second, as soon as the liturgy for the one (the standing and unchangeable centre of the service) is to be separated from the celebration of the Sacrament The separation of these two so very distinct elements ought at that time to have been made, in order to preserve the purity and independence of the spiritual character of the Christian sacrifice, as well as the right sense of the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the Institution. But this separation undoubtedly seemed then dangerous: the spiritual sense of Christianity was already lowered; probably it was feared that the positive sense of sacrifice might dwindle into a deistical or sentimental one, and hopes were entertained that the people might one day return to the use of the ancient Church, and all take the Communion in every Communion service.

The next step was the celebrating of the Communion by the clergy ministering at the altar: after this the last step was unavoidable, on the celebration of the Communion by the officiating priest alone, that is to say, without any Communion (in the old sense) taking place.

All these changes were merely *liturgical*, but every

liturgical change reacts necessarily on the *doctrine*. The consecration and the showing of the consecrated host became the most conspicuous part of the service; on that act being performed, the faithful were to remember the passion of Christ, and the institution of his blessed Sacrament. The doctrine of Transubstantiation itself was only a consequence of this practical view, produced by the liturgy; a scholastic consequence, the denial of which seemed inconsistent with that practice. Such is the character of human nature, that, unless it be guided by divine revelation, it will find out and substitute an outward practice for the inward act, and supply, by an external rite, the want of the spiritual act which man is commanded to perform, and which he feels the need of when not misdirected. Hitherto the Church had only known such expressions as these: Christ offered himself up for the Church—the Church offers up herself, and as signs of this act of her own, she (the faithful people) brings or offers to the altar her gifts (oblations) as well as her prayers. But now a third expression came up: the Church offers up Christ, by repeating on the altar the consecration of his body made on the cross. If this is to be the Christian sacrifice, then the real body once offered, and the sacramental body now unceasingly offered on the altar, must be the same, must be identical, otherwise the Christian sacrifice would be void and only a shadow, whereas it must contain reality as well as be perpetual.

The doctrine of Transubstantiation, closely connected as it is with the substitution of the sacrifice of consecration for the spiritual and only real one, of the souls of the united faithful people, is therefore far from being the central point of controversy. The whole question which has principally occupied the Protestant divines in their controversies with the Romish Church, and has given rise to the great division in the Protestant Church itself, viz. "*What is the effect of the prayers of consecration* (which are preceded by the words of the Institution, and do not consist in these words alone) *on the elements?*" is one which lies entirely out of the view of the ancient Church. It never formed a distinct object of the consideration of her Fathers, or the deliberations of her Councils: many orthodox Fathers would have declared it an indifferent point, others a point not to be answered; none would have given his peculiar opinion as a point of doctrine. The question was not started, till the whole centre of Christian worship had been changed; and it was one of the evils entailed by the Romish Church on the new Reformed one, that even her own internal discussions moved on this point, and made that answer a point of paramount importance, and a ground of schism and separation.

The Reformed Churches agreed all with one voice, as by inspiration, that the blessed Communion had been changed into a mere representation of the same

in which no communion took place. They proved that the spiritual sacrifice of the Fathers was widely different from the sacrifice of the Mass, and laid down the principle that there was no celebration of the Lord's Supper allowed except there were communicants.

This was the second critical period of the old Greek and Latin Church; none of its canons had yet pronounced, as a doctrine, the liturgical *fact* established by the usage of centuries, "that the sacrifice of the Mass was essentially a propitiatory one." The Council of Trent made this declaration, which is to be considered as the death blow of the Romish Church, which it hoped thus to support and to maintain; and the later Fathers of that same Church agreed always more and more in the further conclusion which completes the new system, that the central point of this sacrifice is the consecration, by which the Romanists always understand wrongly the recital of the words of Institution. Bossuet is most decided on this point; communion with him is only an accessory, the feeding of those who are present on the flesh of the victim of propitiation; and feeling how much this runs against the type of the Levitical worship, where it is declared an abomination to eat of the flesh of the victim consecrated for propitiation, he takes upon himself to declare this to be a great mystery of the new covenant.

The real point of controversy is therefore about *the nature of the Christian sacrifice.* It is easy to

establish the doctrine of the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanks, but the most profound writers among the Roman Catholics (as Pascal and the whole school of Port Royal) abound in this sense. But the real point of controversy, in its most particular form, may be reduced to this:

"Is the doctrine of the Council of Trent incompatible or not with that doctrine of the spiritual sacrifice?"

They wish to represent us as heretics, the characteristic of which always is, to believe only a *part* of the truth. They pretend that, according to their doctrine, as much stress is laid on the spiritual sacrifice by them as by the Reformed, who rather have, according to them, given up and lost the sacrifice altogether, reducing their worship to a mere deistical meeting to hear a sermon.

It must therefore be the final object of the Reformed Christian Church, to show, not only what the real sacrifice of Christians is, but also to make it the central point of her own service, which is the *viva vox ecclesiæ,* more powerfully influential than all books of doctrine; and thus to prove, that, in its most perfect and pure sense, this Christian sacrifice *cannot* be established and understood, so long as the sacrifice of the Mass is not abolished.

The most natural, general, and energetic way of thus placing the truth of Christianity in opposition to its degeneration is therefore by the *Liturgy;* and, in

order to effect this, we necessarily must do what the Church of the fifth century did not choose to do, and what the Reformers of the sixteenth century were prevented from doing by many circumstances, and particularly by the gross abuses which had crept into the Church through the perversion of the meaning of the awful word Sacrifice. These immortal men discovered the whole truth, as their writings prove, but when the time was come that the Churches, reformed by their heroic efforts, might have organized themselves according to the actual state of the Church and the new elements of devotion produced by the Reformation, the newly risen controversies directed their attention to other points. Here and there also the great spirit of those men had disappeared, and others with a more contracted and limited view of Christian doctrine and Christian Church, at least without that grand and extensive view which characterised those great heroes of the Gospel, had taken their place. . . . . .

IV.

THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS; THEIR GENERAL CHARACTER, ORIGIN, AND IMPORTANCE.

THERE was a book in the ante-Nicene Church, in that age which as a whole we may call the Apostolic, and of which Hippolytus, Origen, and Cyprian represent the latter part,— there was among the Christians of those two hundred years a book, called Apostolic in an eminent sense, as the work of all the Apostles. It was a book more read than any one of the writings of the Fathers, and in Church matters of greater weight than any other; the book before the authority of which the bishops themselves bowed, and to which the Churches looked up for advice in doubtful cases. And this book was not the Bible. It was not even a canonical book, but as to its form a work of fiction; and, pretending to have emanated from the Apostles, was excluded by most of the Fathers, as spurious, from the books of the New Testament.

This book was called sometimes, the "Doctrine," more generally and properly, the "Ordinances," or the "Constitutions," "of the Apostles."

Whoever has read those interesting, and in many respects precious relics, which we call the Apostolic

Fathers, will readily grant that their greatest charm consists, on the whole, in the image which they exhibit of the life of the Church in the interesting and important but dark age which followed that of the Apostles of Christ. The works of the Apostolic Fathers of the second century, in particular, are more eminent and more attractive to us as emanations and as monuments of the universal life of which they give evidence, than as individual productions, and as documents of individual thought, learning, and power. And still, when we look upon these Fathers from this point of view, we soon become aware that they, as well as those of the third century, acquaint us with that universal Christian life only indirectly, unconsciously, and as it were accidentally, and that they all presuppose in the reader a perfect knowledge of what that life of the Church was. They are occasional Epistles, or special treatises, or apologies, addressed to Jewish or Pagan opponents and adversaries. In none of these forms are they intended to communicate to us what every properly instructed and initiated Christian then knew. On the contrary, all these writings presuppose more or less the knowledge of what was required for a Christian man or woman to know, or to confess, to pray, to do, to practise, or to avoid, and what was in general the custom and order as well of domestic and private as of common Christian life, both

in worship and in government and discipline; and of all this very little is found in the Bible.

I have already pointed out in the foregoing chapter, that it is one of the divine characteristics of the Christian religion, that our canonical books contain neither an order for worship nor a constitution. But whoever has an eye for reality must see that the Christian community could not have existed many years after the death of the two great Apostles, nor have survived the fall of Jerusalem and the death of St. John, had not, even from this time, from the beginning of the second century, customs and traditional rules been formed, and continued to be formed, to regulate the Christian life in the different Churches, and keep up the unity of the Spirit among them. I believe we know the fact, but even if we did not, we might safely affirm, that the Christian community could not have developed itself as it has done, and maintained its unity in the second and third centuries, unless that organizing social spirit had continued, and unless those customs, traditions, and regulations had, at an early period, been written down and put together, more or less complete, and liable to changes and additions, in the most ancient and leading Churches of the highly civilized Hellenic and Roman world, both of the East and the West.

The Christians of that age were scriptural, but still more Apostolic and catholic. They trusted for the preservation of that Apostolicity and that unity

both to the Scripture and to the Spirit given to the Church. But this very faith had prompted them to hedge in that spiritual life and Apostolic consciousness with the forms, customs, and precedents which, they knew or believed, had come down to them, directly or indirectly, from the Apostles. We have seen that there certainly existed in the age of Hippolytus a stirring and organizing episcopacy within those principal Churches, as active as any ever has been, and that there was still a constitutional aristocratic action in the clerical government of each Church, and even a remnant of popular right in the congregation; in short, that there were in that age all the elements required to provide for the emergencies of the times. But, by the side of that, we see Hippolytus point, in matters of Church discipline and order, to the Ecclesiastical Rules or "Definitions," as energetically and authoritatively as in matters of doctrine, that is to say, respecting our knowledge of Father, Son, and Spirit, he points invariably and exclusively to Scripture. When giving the character of bishop Zephyrinus (ix. p. 284.), he says, "the man was ignorant in the ecclesiastical rules" (ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ὅροι). This expression, "Definitions," signified in that age exactly what subsequently to the Council of Nice was called the Canons, or Rules; for originally the term Canon was only used to denote a rule of faith, not of discipline. Scarcely could Hippolytus, in attacking the bishop of Rome,

appeal to those Principles of Ecclesiastical Law, unless some of those regulations, upon which ecclesiastical discipline was based, and which, as a whole, were considered of Apostolic authority, had been committed to writing, and were preserved in the archives of the presbytery.

But we have the same, and still more explicit, evidence from Irenæus. I allude here, in particular, to the celebrated "Pfaffian Fragment" of Irenæus, of the authenticity of which no reasonable doubt can be entertained. I have discussed elsewhere its merit and sense, and in this place it is only necessary to refer to the text given in my first Appendix, and to the authors there quoted. Irenæus says that those who have followed the second ordinances (*διατάξεις*) of the Apostles, that is to say, those who have studied and who accept them*, know what the Christian offering and sacrifice is. The most natural interpretation of this passage seems to be, that it refers to such Apostolic injunctions and ordinances as are not contained in the canonical writings of the Apostles, but still were received by the Church as being Apostolic, and therefore must have been written down in one way or another when Irenæus wrote; that is to say, not later than the second part of the second century. Indeed, the Protestant writers, who look for another interpretation,

* As to Rothe's interpretation, see his "Anfänge," p. 373.

do so merely out of that unreasonable fear of the word Tradition, of which I have spoken in the first of these Fragments. Certainly those ordinances existed originally as verbal tradition, or at least only in records of single Churches, not in a general authoritative form; but they were observed, and therefore were living practical rules, in the leading Apostolic congregations, as Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Ephesus. These Churches existed at that time with perfect independence of one another, and with a considerable difference as to the form both of worship and of government and discipline. The generally known difference as to the celebration of Easter is not the only one. But all were united together by three great points: by Scripture, by the consciousness of the unity and efficacy of the Spirit, and by brotherly communications passing from time to time among them.

It is to such ordinances, known and accepted in single Churches, and by them considered as rules of general, although only disciplinary, authority, not as rules of faith, and at that time not written, that Clement of Rome refers in his Epistle to the Corinthians, which is not only authentic, but was composed before St. John wrote his Gospel. Clement, in this Epistle, speaks of regulations and arrangements of the Apostles regarding the office of the Elders, and claims respect for them. It requires no argument to prove that these Apostolic re-

gulations, such as, that the office of Presbyter was to be considered as an office for life, unless a Presbyter became superannuated or forfeited the office by his conduct, are no more scriptural than infant baptism is, although they are of much more ancient origin.

If Clement, therefore, claimed respect for that regulation, and, as the result showed, obtained it, he appealed to the same authority which Irenæus alludes to as "second regulations;" only that Clement certainly could not refer to anything written. Nothing, therefore, is more natural than what really has happened. The name of Clement of Rome was used as that of the author of those regulations, he having been the Apostolic man who had first recorded ordinances or injunctions of the Apostles, not found in Scripture, or at least had first claimed universal authority for them. His name, and the names of the Apostles, are used as a mythical form to express an undoubted fact, namely, the Apostolicity of such injunctions as to the substance. The sense of the whole fiction is, that whatever in those ordinances is not directly the work of the Apostles must be considered as Apostolic, as coming from their disciples, who, with their followers in the next generation, had continued their work in the same spirit, Clement of Rome being the first and most prominent among them. The consciousness of Apostolicity in the second and third centuries justifies, or at least excuses and explains, such a fiction, which, moreover,

could deceive nobody who reflected on the subject. St. Jerome has, in the letter to Lucian already quoted, the following very remarkable words: "I think it right briefly to admonish thee, that Apostolic traditions (particularly those which are not affecting the faith) ought to be observed as they have been delivered, and that the customs of some should not be destroyed by those of others. . . . Let the people of every province stand by their own, and consider the precepts of their forefathers as Apostolic laws." This advice, if well understood, is very sensible: and, at all events, highly instructive as to the view of the ancient Church. St. Augustin adopted the same method, following an injunction of St. Ambrose.

Now the collection of these Apostolic regulations and injunctions, insisted upon by Clement, and referred to by Irenæus as known to the Catholics and acknowledged by them in their disciplinary, but still Apostolic, authority—such a book, I say, next in authority to the Bible, and affording much information as to the life of the ancient Church, which the Bible does not and cannot give, is still in existence. It is true, the book is merely mentioned by our ante-Nicene Fathers, and we have no verbally accurate quotation from it in any author of the fourth century, but only from the sixth downwards. But still, for most of those passages quoted by Epiphanius, we find in our present text others which correspond with them almost literally. How then is it that the origin

of this book has never been satisfactorily explained? and that for a century and a half the book has not (so far as I know) been even separately reprinted, and therefore is, if ever, only read by those who have recourse to the rare and expensive collections of the Apostolic remains? On the whole, principally for two reasons: first, because in the seventeenth century the prejudices of all parties precluded men from coming to any satisfactory solution; and, secondly, because modern criticism has been left to the Germans, for whom reality has no charm. But we may add two particular reasons: because we knew hitherto only one collection, and that the least genuine; and because Hippolytus had become almost a mythical person.

We shall endeavour to gain first some fixed points, to found our further inquiry upon.

Of course, it does not follow from our having Constitutions or Ordinances of the Apostles, that they are the same as those to which the men of the second and third centuries refer, as it will soon be shown. Neither does it follow, that, if we find corresponding passages in that collection, we possess, on the whole, the same text which the writers of the fourth century had before them. But it was an erroneous view to suppose that there existed only one sacred book, which, under the name of "Doctrine," or "Ordinances," "of the Apostles," was used in the Church, and highly respected as connected with the

Apostles. I shall not only prove, that we have a different and a less interpolated text of the so called eighth book of our Greek Constitutions, but, besides, I hope to show the originality, and superior authenticity, of three other texts, one representing the traditions of the Church of Antioch, and two of Alexandrian origin, that is to say, having authority or being used in the Church of Egypt, as the other in that of Syria. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? Each of those great Churches, not to say every Apostolic and influential Church, was not only independent of the others, but had its own disciplinary regulations and forms, in particular also with respect to the reception and instruction of the catechumens, one of the most prominent parts of the ancient discipline. The work in question was, for a great part, of local origin as to the nucleus of its contents; I mean, as to those customs and regulations which were observed in the Church in question. But in all it existed very early, and everywhere as a fiction, so far as its composition is concerned: for it pretends to be the dictation of the Apostles to Clement. Unfortunately, the Greek text which we happen to possess is dilated, patched up, and interpolated. In the first six books, which form the first collection, the whole text is rewritten in a rhetorical style by a late compiler. Even the two remaining collections, called now the seventh and eighth books, are more interpolated than any others with which we are acquainted. And we know now

three such, all different from the Greek and from one another.

But there is a collateral fact, justice to which must equally be done, the concordance of these different texts, the Coptic, Abyssinian, and Syrian, in the most important articles, not only as to the substance, but even as to the form, with the corresponding passages of the nucleus of those two books, particularly of the eighth. This fact is irreconcilable with the assumption that the whole is a work of fiction, and of a very late date, and that it represents nothing but imaginary traditions invented by impostors. For, however these might have been acquainted with ancient usages and with the writings of the old Fathers, their works could never have been recommended and read so universally in the East, nor could they have invented forms so simple and primitive.

All these distinct collections present, on the whole, the same groundwork, which was Apostolic, or supposed Apostolic, custom. As to the age of the compilation, the latter part of the third century is the horizon to which most of the ancient ordinances have been more or less adapted; but none of these ordinances reaches higher than the episcopal system, in the ecclesiastical sense, introduced by St. John in Proconsular Asia (Ionia). It is, therefore, not to be wondered, that we find in none of them that Apostolic regulation respecting the Elders to which Clement refers. On the contrary, whereas Clement

speaks of an ordinance which supposes only two orders in the Church, Elders, called also Overseers (Bishops), and Deacons; the canons of our Constitutions already stand upon the fully developed ecclesiastical system, the episcopal, and the threefold, instead of twofold, division of clerical offices. The primitive system is, indeed, supposed by one or two overlooked passages, where those offices are only named occasionally: but we know that many Churches were governed late in the second century by presbyters supported by deacons. Now, waiving this difference, we may say, the farthest horizon is everywhere the age posterior to Clement, who represents the end of the Johannean age, or of the first century. But, if we look deeper, we find that the ordinance of the Apostles recorded by Clement is indeed the basis of that whole ecclesiastical system. All those ordinances presuppose in every canon which relates to the office of bishop or presbyter, that it is for life. Now, as this principle rested, not upon scriptural authority, but upon the latest personal arrangements of the Apostles, and, in particular, of St. Peter and St. Paul, that ordinance, appealed to by Clement, presupposes again the ordinances contained in the Pastoral Epistles.

From our general view as to the origin and stages of the Apostolical Constitutions posterior to the Pastoral Letters, and as to the different stages through which they have passed, we can easily explain the

fact that Epiphanius, who at the end of the fourth century had the groundwork of the first six books of our Greek Constitutions before him, evidently still read in his copy some few passages which are now wanting entirely, or of which we read the very contrary. We have, on the other side, as it will be shown hereafter, the undoubted fact, that the contents of our texts give ordinances and describe customs which we must refer to an earlier period than that of Irenæus. As, therefore, the name (Ordinances, Constitutions) is the same, I think we may safely quote that celebrated passage of Irenæus, a testimony of the latter part of the second century, as a proof that there existed already at that time in the Church a collection of customs and ordinances ascribed to the Apostles. I also believe we may refer to the words of Clement, as proving that such customs and ordinances existed traditionally, before the end of the first century, and must have been successively acknowledged by many Churches, if not by all, as substantially authoritative, although not scriptural, from that early period, that is to say, before St. John wrote his Gospel.

Now, as to the contents, it is self-evident, from what we have said in the first part of these Fragments, that those traditional customs, and ordinances or injunctions, successively collected and written down, must from the very beginning have comprized two elements, the ritual and the constitutional.

These two elements must, at all events, have formed three chapters: that is to say, they must have treated first, on the teaching and the reception of the catechumens; secondly, on the worship and on the rites; and thirdly, on the government and the whole constitutional discipline of the Church. A fourth chapter must also have been formed before those ordinances were collected and digested into a work as of Apostolic tradition, as the legacy of the Apostles. These are the ethic precepts, containing the application of the Decalogue, of the Sermon on the Mount, and of other general oracles of Christ, and of the exhortations and the advice of the Apostles, as to the life, domestic and social, of the Christians. We find, indeed, this ethic element, in a more literary, modern form, as introductions prefixed to the special Canons, in the beginning of each collection. The same ethic and moral element appears, also, as the prominent feature in popular novels and other fictions, which form the beginning of the literature of the primitive Christians. These books were destined in particular for the catechumens, as a preparation for baptism: Athanasius says so expressly of the Apostolical Constitutions themselves.

But however small the external evidence may be for the early existence, not only of the contents, but also of the fictitious form, of the "Ordinances of the Apostles," there are two irrefragable witnesses for their existence and authority before the Nicene

epoch: Athanasius, who wrote about 330 to 360; and Epiphanius, of the early Theodosian period, whose work was begun in 375.

Athanasius, in his thirty-ninth Festal Letter, after having recited the canonical books received and used by the Church, gives a list of those works which (he says) are not canonical, but destined by the Fathers to be read by those who come to be instructed in the true doctrine *; namely, the Book of Wisdom and the Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and the so-called "Doctrine of the Apostles," and "the Shepherd." Now, the date of "the Shepherd, or Hermas," named after the "Doctrine of the Apostles," is known. It was written by the brother of bishop Pius, about 150. The author of the "Synopsis of the Holy Scripture," in the works of Athanasius, speaking of the "controverted" parts (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*) of the New Testament, which are read to the people, names, amongst others, the "Doctrine of the Apostles," and the "Clementines;" and adds:—the truer and inspired (*θεόπνευστα*) parts of them have been transcribed (*μετεφράσθησαν*, which means not trans-

* *Οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον.* This applies to the Apocryphs as well as to the Hermas. Drey translates it (p. 3.), following Cotelerius: "which, by the order of the bishops, are read in the churches." (See also p. 82.) As to the mention of the book of Esther, it applies, of course, to the apocryphal Alexandrian "Fragments of the book of Esther."

lated simply, and implies modifications as well as omissions). Eusebius, before him, had mentioned the "Doctrine of the Apostles" among the spurious "books of the New Testament," together with the "Revelations of St. Peter," a vision which the author of the Muratorian fragment names as a canonical book of the Catholic Church, at least of the Roman, on the same level with St. John's Apocalypse; adding, however, that some protest against its being read (as a canonical book).

We see from these quotations that the writers of the earlier part of the fourth century, as Eusebius and Athanasius, call the book in question the "Doctrine" or "the Doctrines" of the Apostles, and so does the author of the "Synopsis" in the works of Athanasius. It is, in itself, the most natural supposition, that this "Doctrine of the Apostles" is no other than the "Constitutions or Ordinances of the Apostles;" for otherwise we should know nothing of a book so highly respected and so much read. But Zonaras* refers the condemnation of the "Apostolical Constitutions" by the Concilium Trullanum of 692 expressly to the "Doctrine," because he mentions it in speaking of their being rejected: and, indeed, the title applies very well to our book, which begins and ends with ethic admonitions, although its nucleus refers to posi-

* To Canon 60., compared with his explanations to Canon Laodic. 60.

tive ordinances respecting the ritual or the discipline. As to this rejection, the Council assigns as the reason the circumstance that the book had been interpolated by heretics (Cod. 112, 113.). The later Byzantine writers, Photius at their head, speak of the eight books of our "Constitutions" as bearing the fictitious names of Clement and of the Apostles; but as being an ancient and respectable, and perhaps even orthodox production. They suspect some expressions, or the absence of some theological terms, as Arian; an unjust suspicion which our Constitutions share with all the ante-Nicene Fathers who speak on those subjects.

So much for the external evidence and the historical probabilities. But the most convincing arguments are the contents themselves. As soon as we take away what belongs to the bad taste of the fiction, all the ethic introductions and occasional moralizing conclusions, and, in general, all which manifestly is rewritten with literary pretension, and lastly, as soon as we expunge some easily discernible interpolations of the fourth and fifth centuries, we find ourselves unmistakably in the midst of the life of the Church of the second and third centuries.

We have now, I believe, the documentary proofs in our hands, that our present Greek text is the least original and the most dilated and interpolated of all which are preserved. Still it contains in the two latter books, and in these alone, most of the original

materials. In our Appendix, the curious reader will find all those hitherto neglected or unknown texts extracted, and, where it appeared important, even their very words given, and compared with each other. I refer in particular to the text of the Coptic ordinances of the Apostles and the commentary on them.

But in our third volume, we shall give the text itself, the genuine substance of those most precious relics. Who can read them without respect, and, if he have a Christian heart, without emotion? Who does not feel that indeed they deserve to be placed next to the Bible? Who can doubt of the age, when such customs and ordinances were formed and were recorded?

After having established the fundamental points necessary for an impartial judgment on the Apostolical Constitutions, and sketched out the method of research which I have followed, I shall add a few words respecting the history of the criticism of that remarkable production.

The importance attributed to this book by the English critics of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, with few exceptions, and the strong and almost universal belief in the antiquity and authenticity of the nucleus of its contents, form the most brilliant part of English

ecclesiastical criticism. It is true, none of those eminent men attempted to point out the natural origin, and the authentic elements; and their ultimate conjectures as to the former are as discordant as unhistorical. While bishop Pearson refers the origin of the Apostolical Constitutions to the Apostles or their disciples, and while Grabe even calls them verbal traditions written down in the beginning of the second century, bishop Beveridge ascribes their origin to Clemens of Alexandria, supposing tradition had mistaken him for the Roman; a mistake which tradition could never make, and which so learned a man should never have fallen into himself. Archbishop Usher goes to the other extreme: exaggerating the importance of some intruded later elements, he supposes the Constitutions to have been written in the sixth century: an opinion in which he is followed by the German Ittig, and by Father Tillemont; but which runs counter to all historical and internal evidence. If these learned and acute men were hampered by their conventional theological views in one way, Whiston, the pious, learned, and acute scholar, was driven into a still wilder and indeed absurd conjecture, by his opposite predilections. For he started the almost incredible conjecture, that our Constitutions were dictated by Christ to his disciples in the forty days after the resurrection. But those defects, and even this eccentricity, do not diminish the merit of the English school, for having deeply felt, and

maintained as well as they could, the character of the work, as relating to a document of the ancient Church of the ante-Nicene period.

As to the research of the Protestant critical school in Germany, the criticism upon these Constitutions is undoubtedly its weakest part, and very naturally so. What they know how to handle best is thought, the ideal part of history: what is farthest from their grasp is reality. What the Apostolical Constitutions contain of valuable is only reality: the speculative or ideal part in them is entirely insignificant. Thus alone can it be explained, that Neander has scarcely made any use of the treasures contained in the Constitutions; and that whereas the tedious novel of the Clementine fictions has been made the subject of very deep (although, I am afraid, equally premature) researches (by Schliemann, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, and others), the Constitutions have neither been reprinted nor commented upon. At the utmost they have received a glance of disdain from the German critics. There are only two honourable exceptions. Rothe, alone, has given a general sensible view of the state of the question, in a note, full of information and good sense, to his work on the origin of the ecclesiastical constitution; and Krabbe has dedicated a juvenile inquiry to the question itself.

About the same time (1832), a German divine of the critical Roman Catholic school of Germany, Von Drey, made the Greek Constitutions and the

Canons of the Apostles the objects of a more elaborate inquiry, and entered most deeply into the merit of these relics. He comes to the same result at which Krabbe arrived — the ante-Nicene origin of the book; and he has proved this assertion better than his predecessors, as to a part of the contents. But when he considers the first six books as the composition of an ancient ante-Nicene author, he betrays a great want of philological accuracy and critical tact. Likewise, if he acknowledges that the seventh, as well as the eighth, book bears a peculiar character, he fails to see that they are not supplements at all, but that each of them forms a separate collection, and one which, in its original parts, is as genuine and primitive as the first six books are patched up. Thence the untenable idea, that we have in those first six books an original and regular plan, and not a rhetorical essay with many interpolations, single collections containing only a few genuine gems. His final result, that those six books were destined for the catechumens, whereas the seventh was reserved for the initiated, and the eighth, the Pontificale, for the priests alone, falls to the ground, together with the supposition from which it is obtained. These fundamental defects of his research prevent him from coming to the simple historical solution.

The second Appendix gives the complete analysis of the whole work, and establishes the fact, that the first six, the seventh, and the eighth books are three

parallel collections, and that the two latter include a nucleus, discernibly enlarged upon by later additions.

We hasten now to the solution of the problem of the eighth book in particular, because it is peculiarly well authenticated, as to its nucleus, and because it is directly connected with the principal object of our inquiry. For we find the key to its composition in a lost work of Hippolytus, which, very likely with omissions, and certainly with some interpolations, forms the introduction of that most important part of our Greek text.

V.

THE WORK OF HIPPOLYTUS ON THE GIFTS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND TRACES OF THIS WORK IN THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

DREY, who is very severe on all who overlook a passage of the Fathers relating to the Constitutions, asserts (p. 170.) that nothing is known of the contents of the work of Hippolytus on the Charismata, or the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. This learned man has, in saying this, overlooked an interesting passage of St. Jerome, which evidently relates to this book, and which indeed is (although imperfectly) given by Fabricius. For, in the remarkable letter to Lucinius, of the year 398, St. Jerome says, in answer to some queries and conscientious scruples of that rather superstitious and bigoted person:—"With reference to thy questions respecting the Sabbath, whether one ought to fast on it; and respecting the Eucharist, whether one ought to receive it daily, which is said to be the observance of the Roman Church and of that of Spain; Hippolytus, a very powerful writer, has written, and several writers have excerpted opinions from different authorities." * It is clear

* Opp. ed. Vallars. Venet. t. iii. 1. p. 430. "De Sabbatho quod quæris utrum jejunandum sit, et de Eucharistia an

that the writing of Hippolytus here is quoted in contradistinction to authors who had cursorily recorded different opinions on the subject. What he quotes of Hippolytus must therefore have been written in a work composed expressly on this and similar subjects of ecclesiastical discipline, and considered as an authority. But this could only be the treatise on the Charismata. None of the copious lists of his works contain any relating to such a subject. Now, two manuscripts, one of Oxford (of the Barocci collection), and one of Vienna (Fabr. i. 245–259.), give the text of the eighth book as part of the Constitutions of the Apostles, only without the evident intrusions and interpolations of our present text, under the title:

"Διδασκαλία [πάντων] τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων περὶ Χαρισμάτων.

"*Doctrine of the holy Apostles on the Charismata.*"

The Introduction to this treatise, perfectly agreeing with the text in the eighth book, is a literary composition, the style of which differs equally from the rugged form of the canonical ordinances, and from the moralizing style of the ethical introductions of the first and seventh books. I have no hesitation in saying that it bears upon it the stamp of Hippolytus, both in ideas and in style. We have only to leave out the

accipienda quotidie, quod Romana ecclesia et Hispaniæ observare perhibentur, scripsit quidem et Hippolytus, vir dissertissimus, et carptim diversi scriptores et variis auctoribus edidere."

first introductory period (in which also the addition to St. Mark's Gospel, ch. xv., is quoted), and, in what follows, only the conventional insertion of "We, the Apostles," and such like, required by the fiction, and what remains is original and thoughtful. The leading ideas of the treatise are the following.

"The power of miracles (signs) was given to the Apostles, and likewise to those who believed through them, not for the advantage of the possessors of that power, but on account of the unbelievers. This is the sense of the words of our Saviour: 'Do not rejoice that the spirits obey you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven.' For the one is done by His power, the other by our good-will and zeal, of course, as far as we are assisted by Him. It is therefore not necessary that all the faithful should expel demons, or resuscitate the dead, or speak with tongues. Even such miracles do not always work conversion, as the history of Moses, as well as of Jesus himself, proves.

"Those, therefore, who have such gifts, must not extol themselves over those who have not the gifts of miracles: for there is no one believing in God, through Christ, who has not received a spiritual gift: it is a gift of the Holy Spirit to throw off the Pagan superstitions, or the Judaic veil, and to believe that the Eternal Word became incarnate, that he lived as man, fulfilling all righteousness, and died on the cross, and rose from the dead, and was assumed to God. If thou, therefore, hast received one gift, thy

brother has received another; the word of wisdom or of knowledge, or to discern the spirits, or of foreknowledge of the future, or of doctrine, or of patience, or of righteous continence. When Moses wrought his miracles in Egypt, he did not extol himself above his countrymen; nor did Joshua, nor Samuel, who, being a powerful prophet and high-priest, did not despise David, who was also a prophet, and a king. Nor did Elijah or Elisha or Daniel show any presumption.

"Let, therefore, no one despise a brother who does not possess miraculous gifts. 'For, supposing there were no longer infidels, all working of miracles would be superfluous.' Moreover, a captain is nothing without his army, nor a governor without those who obey him. Let, therefore, no bishop extol himself above deacons and presbyters, nor presbyters above the people: for the whole consists of these together. Bishops and presbyters are priests of some one, and the laymen are laymen of some one: to be a Christian is in our power: to be an apostle, or a bishop, or something like, is not in our power, but in the power of God, who bestows the gifts."

It is well here to remark, that the author implies in the Charismata, both the gifts and the ecclesiastical offices which have the promise of the Holy Spirit. This combination of ideas gives us the understanding of the plan and extent of his treatise, and is the real key to the connection of this book

with the Apostolical Constitutions. This connection is still more clearly expressed in the next period, where the author says, in conclusion of the first section of his treatise: "So much may be said on account of those who have been deemed worthy *of the gifts or offices* (*χαρισμάτων ἢ ἀξιωμάτων*)."

The second chapter or section begins thus: "We add this consideration: not every one who prophesies is pious, nor every one who expels demons holy. Balaam was a prophet: Caiaphas a high-priest. A bishop, weighed down by ignorance or malice, is not a bishop, but belies his name, and is not brought forward by God, but by men: exactly as an impious king is no more a king, but a tyrant. This we say, not out of contempt of real prophets, but in order to repress the arrogance of the overbearing. . . . If, therefore, there is a man or woman among you, who has any such grace in him, let him think humbly of himself, that he may please God."

I believe this is language not unworthy of a holy Christian Father, and entirely in the character of the author of the book on Antichrist, and of the courageous opponent of a tyrannical and wicked or ignorant bishop, in the great work on the heresies.

Hippolytus, therefore, evidently treated in his book both the Gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Offices of the Church. This second part almost necessarily brought him into the very heart of the Apostolic regulations of discipline connected with worship and service, and

the two points mentioned by St. Jerome would very naturally come in as part of the treatise. But there is also, in what follows, historical evidence, of a nature not to be despised, respecting the point, that Hippolytus treated in that work on the Offices of the Church.

The first chapter of Ordinances, which follows after this introduction, is inscribed:

"On the Ordination (*χειροτονία*), by Hippolytus."

Next follow canons and regulations on the ordination and appointment to the different offices of the Church. (Ch. I. to XV.) These are followed by a similar set of regulations and definitions on the same subject, but quite differently worded, and this set is ascribed to "Simon the Cananean," and ushered in again by a piece of literary composition, of a very marked canonical and hierarchical character. (Ch. XVII.) It begins:

"The Bishop blesseth, and is not blessed: he ordaineth, offereth and receiveth blessing from bishops, but not from presbyters. He removeth every member of the clergy, but not a bishop: for a bishop alone cannot remove a bishop.

"The Presbyter blesseth, and receiveth no blessing, except from the bishop and the body of his co-presbyters: he imposeth hands, but doth not ordain nor remove: but he suspendeth his inferiors when they make themselves liable to such a proceeding.

"The Deacon giveth no blessing, but receiveth it

from the bishop and presbyter: he doth not baptize, nor make the oblation: but, when the oblation hath been made by the bishop and presbyter, he giveth it to the people, not as priest, but as ministering to priests."

Here we behold the very origin of these Constitutions. Towards the end of the ante-Nicene period, they made the old simple collections of customs and regulations into a book, by introducing different sets of "*Coutumes*" by a literary composition, either of their own making (as the latter probably is), or by transcribing or extracting a corresponding treatise of an ancient father. Thus, the man who compiled our seventh book has, as every body now knows, extracted two chapters of the ancient epistle which bears the name of Barnabas. Thus the compiler of the eighth book, or a predecessor in this sort of compilation, apparently has done with the work of Hippolytus on the Charismata.

And this latter extract must have acquired a great authority: for we find it in the Canons of the Church of Alexandria, preserved to us in Coptic; a work which was only published a few years ago, and which appears to me by far the most interesting composition of this kind which we possess.

I have given, in Appendix VII., a full extract and analysis of this important work, of which, it appears, no notice has been taken hitherto. The text given is taken from the edition of Archdeacon Tattam:

where the original text and the sense seemed to require it, I have made such alterations as the printed Coptic text allows. The late Dr. Schwarze had, during his stay in England and Paris, made considerable preparations for a more critical edition. I just learn from the preface to a posthumous work of that excellent scholar, that the text is ready for being printed; and I hope that this treasure may not be withheld from the public, and may be edited without delay. But, in expressing such a hope, I cannot refrain from wishing that the work on the "Apostolical Constitutions" may meet with a little more charity than the celebrated Coptic manuscript of a Gnostic work in the British Museum, the Πίστις Σοφία, has done at the hands of Professor Petermann. The learned editor has published it, without any sort of comment or explanation, although it is almost unintelligible to nine tenths of the readers without them; and although its contents invite critical remarks, particularly with respect to old Egyptian and to Platonic speculation. Besides this, to repeat (as the author does) simply that the book is supposed to be a work of Valentinus, betrays an utter neglect, or ignorance, of what is known respecting that great man, and, what any critic who reads the book will easily find out, respecting the later age and the Egyptian (probably Marcosian) origin of that confused, although philologically and historically remarkable, production.

But, to return to the "Apostolical Constitutions," we find still other evidence in favour of the early and general belief in a connection of part of them with Hippolytus. Some Canons of the Syrian Church, and one of the collections of the Abyssinian, entirely independent of the other, are distinctly attributed to Hippolytus, which name is Semitically written Abulides.

Appendices V. and VI. show how far the contents correspond with the eighth book, and with Hippolytus.

VI.

GENERAL RESULTS RESPECTING THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS.

A. *General critical Results.*

I BELIEVE I have proved in the Appendix, more clearly than it has been done hitherto, the ante-Nicene origin of a book, or rather of books, called by an early fiction "Apostolical Constitutions," and consequently the still higher antiquity of the materials, both ecclesiastical and literary, which are contained in them. I have shown how, in the seventh book, the compilers employed the Epistle of Barnabas, which belongs to the first half of the second century; how in the eighth Hippolytus is extracted or transcribed; and how the first six books are so full of phrases found in the second interpolation of the Ignatian Epistles, that their last compiler, the author of the present text, either must have lived soon after that interpolation was made, or *vice versâ*, or the interpolater and the compiler must have been the same person. This last circumstance renders it probable that at least the first six books of the Greek compilation had, like the Ignatian forgeries, their origin in Asia Minor. For two points are self-evident: they are of Oriental origin, and they belong neither

to Antioch nor to Alexandria. I suppose nobody will trace them now to Palestine.

As to the relation of the different collections of this sort which are here, for the first time, thoroughly sifted and compared with each other, I have (as the Recapitulations at the end of each critical chapter in the Appendix will more fully exhibit) established the following ten points:

First. The Greek text contains three distinct collections: the first six books, the seventh, and the eighth.

Second. The first of these collections (Books I.—VI.) is entirely rewritten, and then interpolated.

Third. The interpolations, here and in the other collections, betray themselves in most cases, not only by their contents, but also by the fact, that, when they are expunged, a natural order appears in the arrangement of the ordinances, instead of the present entire want of all logical order.

Fourth. The second Greek collection, or the seventh book, is, in its ordinances, entirely original, and is not reproduced in the other, not Greek, collections.

Fifth. The vulgar text of the eighth book of the Greek Constitutions is a corrupt and interpolated recension of the text exhibited in the Vienna and Oxford manuscripts: exactly as Grabe had maintained.

Sixth. This compilation is connected with Hip-

polytus, both by the Introduction with which it opens, and which may be considered as substantially representing part of the lost book of Hippolytus, the "Apostolic Tradition respecting the Gifts of the Holy Spirit," and by the wording of the chapters on the Offices of the Church, and perhaps by that of others (Books III.—VI.).

Seventh. The principal materials of this compilation are contained in the latter portion of the collection of Apostolical Ordinances used in Egypt (Books III.—VI.), and preserved to us in the Coptic text.

Eighth. The first portion of these Ordinances (Books I. II.) of the Church of Alexandria represents the groundwork of something very like that which the first six books of the Greek Constitutions, a decidedly fraudulent imposture, the forerunner of the Pseudo-Isidorian imposture of the later canon law of the Church of Rome, exhibit in a thoroughly corrupted and comparatively worthless text.

Ninth. The other collection of the Church of Alexandria, now only preserved in the Abyssinian text and its Arabic translation, bears the same primitive character in its original elements, and represents in the chapter on the admission of Catechumens parts of the eighth book of our Greek Constitutions.

Tenth. The Syrian collection, or the collection of ordinances as used in the Church of Antioch and its allied Churches of the Syrian tongue, bears a similar relation to other parts of the eighth book of our

Greek Constitutions; but dose not coincide with either of the Alexandrian collections.

We therefore have the following six independent collections of ordinances:

I. *Greek Constitutions.* Books I.—VI.: entirely re-written.

(Origin unknown: compare, as to the ground-work, Coptic Collection, Books I. II.)

II. „ „ Book VII.: an interpolated Collection.

(Origin unknown: compare, as to the introduction, the introduction to Coptic Collection, Book I.)

III. „ „ Book VIII.: an interpolated Collection.

The purer text of this Collection is in the Vienna and Oxford MSS., the first canons bearing the name of Hippolytus. With this text agree substantially part of the Coptic collection (Books III. IV. V. VI.) and part of the Abyssinian and the Syrian.

IV. *Coptic Collection.* Books I. II.: the Alexandrian Ordinances, Collection A.

V. *Ethiopic Collection.* 38 Canons: the Alexandrian Ordinances, Collection B.

VI. *Syrian Collection.* The Ordinances of the Church of Antioch.

All these collections ought to be edited together, with the necessary critical Prolegomena and analytical Tables; for both of which the principal points have been established in the Appendix. The Greek text of Cotelerius is so uncritical, that to print the second Vienna MS. would already be an immense improvement.

As to the Apostolical Canons, as well those received by the Roman Church as the remainder, their meaning, origin, and interpolations become so clear, when considered in the light of a historical criticism of the Constitutions, and in particular of the collections used in Egypt, that the Table of Contents prefixed to their text, as given in our Third Volume, requires no comment.

B. *General Results for the Philosophical History of the Age of Hippolytus.*

I. *As to the Genuineness and historical Importance of the Apostolical Ordinances.*

I believe I have established two leading points for fixing the age and origin of the genuine elements, such as they will be found in the Third Volume.

The first of these points is: some of the regulations, if we look to the contents themselves, are the local

"*coutumes*" of the Apostolic Church. I have no hesitation in saying, that I believe some of them reach, if not to the Johannean, certainly to that age which immediately followed it, the age of Ignatius, or the third Christian generation, according to the system sketched out in the Fourth Letter of our First Volume.

The second point is: they all presuppose the period in which the Pastoral Letters were written. There we have only elders (called also bishops) and deacons; the Constitutions stand upon the Johannean system of Asia Minor, Episcopacy in the ecclesiastical sense, or the system of three orders, bishops, elders, and deacons.

This fact corroborates strongly the universal evidence of the ancient Church, that the Pastoral Epistles are the work of St. Paul, and crushes all opposite theories, if connected with a reasonable historical criticism of the epistles of Clement of Rome, of Ignatius, and of Polycarp.

Now these genuine elements, whether called Constitutions or Canons, never formed any real code of law, much less were they the decrees of Synods or Councils. Their collections had no where the force of law. Every ancient and great Church presented modifications of the outlines and traditions here put together; but the constitutions and practices of all Churches were built upon that groundwork. So far it is highly important to know which

collection was used in a given leading Church, such as Antioch or Alexandria.

So much as to the importance of these Regulations for the understanding of the constitution, service, and life of the Apostolic and the whole ante-Nicene Church.

II. *As to the Canons of the Apostles, and the ante-Nicene System of Church Government.*

The Canon Law, which began with the Council of Nice, was definitively shaped and fixed in the ninth century by the fraud of the Roman Decretals. Now our Canons are the direct, positive, and irrefragable proof that this later Canon Law, the law of the Church of Rome, and according to the theory of some English canonists the law of the land unless when expressly abrogated, is in flagrant contradiction with the documents of the ancient Church.

Our Canons, as well as the Constitutions, even in their latest parts, acknowledge no definition of the Catholic Church, but that it comprises the whole people of the faithful. The clergy forms a distinct order, but without having any indelible character.

They know no sacrifice of the Mass; but the symbolical expression of the sacrifice of Self, a sacrifice of thankfulness, represented by the Oblation, and connected with the commemoration of

Christ's death. They contain no anathema against reason; but an express and solemn recognition of reason, as kindred to the Logos, the Eternal Word of God.

Neither do they acknowledge any supreme hierarchical right of the bishops, in the face of the rest of the Christian people. The people elect the bishop; and if other Churches propose a candidate to a new forming congregation, they decide whether they will have him. There is no difference between "consecration" and "ordination;" one and the same word and prayer serving both for bishop and for presbyter.

The Canon Law of the Council of Nice, and of subsequent councils in the fifth and sixth centuries, establishes the metropolitan system in the ordinary sense of the word. The ante-Nicene Law exhibits every town, that is to say, every place which is not a mere *villa* (estate with peasants round it, the origin of our village), as a Church presided over by a bishop and a board of elders (presbyters); but, at the same time, it represents the bishops (not the congregations) of the smaller places as clustered round the bishop of the large town or city which was their natural metropolis. Those bishops formed part of the Council or Presbytery of the mother-congregation for all matters of common interest. In the post-Nicene system the congregation is nothing, its bishop little. The ante-Nicene Canon Law is fundamentally congregational, and its bishop, as such, represents

the independence, and, as it were, sovereignty, of the congregation.

The present Canon Law of Rome is the complete code of a ruling hierarchical corporation, governing the Church by exclusive divine right; judging according to these its by-laws, not only the concerns of the sacerdotal corporation, but whatever in the relations of common life is in any way connected with religion, and ignoring altogether the existence of a Christian state. This theory has been carried out in the Latin Church with an iron consistency, and made the stronghold of a hierarchical power over mankind. Papal Rome has shown, in the formation of its system, much of the spirit which so peculiarly distinguished the ancient Romans in the formation of their civil law. In this civil law they indeed had great men, and developed a true nationality, in times when all the rest of their intellectual and their very national life was almost extinct, from the third to the sixth century. The seeds of such a system of law were sown when the Christian religion became that of the empire: a long process, beginning with Constantine, and terminating only under Theodosius the Great and his sons. Papal Rome worked out this system in its own interest, with a truly Roman spirit.

It had been demonstrated, beyond contradiction, that the historical basis of the Latin Canon Law is forged. But what we can prove now is, that there was not only

no historical foundation for connecting this Canon Law with Apostolic traditions and customs, but that these were in direct positive contradiction with the new hierarchical despotism. Indeed, no fiction and no fraud would have been necessary, if that had not been the case. We are now able to discover the elements, yea, to restore in most cases the text, of an ecclesiastical law corresponding with what we know of the primitive state of the Church in the ages immediately following that of the Apostles, with marked degrees of gradual change, from the first half of the second century, down to the age of transition, the whole of the third century. The discovery of the great work of Hippolytus is a very important link in this demonstration.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND SECTION OF THE HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS.

ON

THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE,

AND ON

THE CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS OF THE APOSTLES.

A.

APPENDIX ON THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE.
(Ch. V. VI. VII.)

THE PRINCIPAL PASSAGES OF IRENÆUS ON THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE.*

I.

PASSAGES IN HIS GREAT WORK OF THE HERESIES.

The principal passages are found in the fourth book (c. 32—35. p. 321—329. ed. Grabe), and in the fifth (c. 2. p. 395—400.).

From the Fourth Book.

c. 32. p. 323. Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis non quasi indigenti. . . . .

c. 33. Quoniam ergo nomen filii proprium patris est, et

* Compare, on this subject, *R. Rothe*, "Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche" (1837), and the recent academical *Programme* of this same deep and conscientious author: "Dissertatio de Primordiis Cultus sacri Christianorum." Bonnæ, 1851, 4to. Also *Höffling*, "On the Doctrine of Irenæus respecting the Christian Sacrifice."

in * Deo omnipotenti per Jesum Christum offert Ecclesia.

c. 34. p. 324. sq. Igitur Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum, et acceptum est ei: non quod indigeat a nobis sacrificium, sed quoniam is qui offert glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur munus ejus. . . . Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creaturæ. . . . ut in quibus *gratus* extitit homo, in his gratus ei deputatus, eum qui est ab eo percipiat honorem. . . . . .

p. 326. Igitur non sacrificia sanctificant hominem: non enim indiget sacrificio Deus: sed conscientia ejus qui offert sanctificat sacrificium, pura existens, et præstat acceptare Deum quasi ab amico.

p. 327. (Gr. ex Parall. Joa. Damasceni.) *Προσφέρομεν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια, ἐμμελῶς κοινωνίαν καὶ ἕνωσιν ἀπαγγέλλοντες σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος.* (Corrected by Grabe: the text is: *ἀπαγγέλλοντες καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἔγερσιν*; an absurd interpolation: the Latin interpreter has: "Offerimus autem ei quæ sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem et unitatem prædicantes carnis et spiritus.") *Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ*

* Thus the text, without sense. It must be corrected: et in [sacrificio altaris] Deo omnipotenti per Jesum Christum offert Ecclesia. The proof is in all the corresponding passages of Irenæus, and in the classical passage of St. Augustin (given in the Letter to Dr. Nott, Ch. VII.). The following passage in Origen (c. Celsum, viii.) expresses the same idea:

Τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἕνα υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Λογὸν καὶ εἰκόνα ταῖς κατὰ δύναμιν ἡμῖν ἱκεσίαις καὶ ἀξιώσεσι σέβομεν· προσάγοντες τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὰς εὐχὰς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ, ᾧ πρῶτον προσφέρομεν αὐτὰς, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἱλασμὸν ὄντα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν προσαγαγεῖν ὡς ἀρχιερέα τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας

γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐπίκλησιν (text: ἔκκλησιν, corrected by Grabe: the Latin interpreter has, correctly: "percipiens invocationem Dei,") οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν* ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. Offerimus autem ei non tamquam indigenti, sed gratias agentes dominationi ejus, et sanctificantes creaturam. . . . . Sicuti igitur non his indigens, attamen *a nobis, propter nos* fieri vult, ne simus infructuosi; ita id ipsum Verbum dedit populo *præceptum faciendarum oblationum* quamvis non indigeret eis, ut disceret Deo servire: sicut et ideo *nos quoque offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione.* Est ergo altare in cœlis (illuc enim preces nostræ et oblationes nostræ diriguntur) et templum, quemadmodum Joannes in Apocalypsi ait: "Et apertum est templum Dei et tabernaculum: ecce enim," inquit, "tabernaculum Dei in quo habitabit cum hominibus."

* Grabe quotes, as illustrating the same view, the following passages:

Justin. Mart. I. § 86.: Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πῶμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν.

Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. III.: ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ.

Id. ib. eadem de Chrismate: Τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μῦρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλὸν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινὸν, μετὰ ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ Χάρισμα.

Gregor. Nyssen. de Sacro Bapt., p. 801.: Μὴ καταφρονήσῃς τοῦ θείου λουτροῦ, μηδὲ ὡς κοινὸν αὐτὸ ἐξευτελίσῃς.

Grabe (to ch. 32. p. 323. sqq.) introduces this whole argumentation by observations which it may not be useless to extract here, as they show his scholarship and his deep feeling for the ancient Church, but certainly also his one-sided historical views, arising from a total want of philosophical mind. He accuses Luther and Calvin of having fallen into the error of denying the sacrifice of the Eucharist, because he himself is unable to distinguish between Eucharist, in the proper sense, and Communion, or between activeness and receptibility. His words are: "Certum est Irenæum, ac omnes quorum scripta habemus patres, Apostolis sive coævos sive proxime succedentes, S. Eucharistiam pro novæ legis sacrificio habuisse, et panem atque vinum tanquam sacra munera in altari Deo patri obtulisse: ante consecrationem quidem, velut primitias creaturarum, in recognitionem supremi ejus super universa dominii: post consecrationem vero ut mysticum corpus et sanguinem Christi, ad repræsentandam cruentam personalis ejus corporis et sanguinis in cruce oblationem, et beneficia mortis ejus omnibus pro quibus offerretur impetranda." He then calls upon the Protestants: "Ut Ecclesiæ sanctissimas formulas liturgicas, quibus dictum sacrificium Deo offertur, ab illis male e suis cœtibus proscriptas, in usum revocent, et hunc summum Divinæ Majestati honorem debito reddant." This is addressed to the Continental Protestants. Had Grabe forgotten that there is no essential difference in the Communion Service between the English and the old Lutheran liturgies, and that the Reformed Churches have the mention of the spiritual sacrifice in the liturgy as well as the English? and that neither has the Oblation? He would have done well to study the Heidelberg Catechism, the most philosophical of all popular dogmatic works, as far as it bases Christian ethics entirely upon the thankfulness of man towards

God, and therefore on the real Christian sacrifice. But of that the good man understood nothing.

FROM THE FIFTH BOOK.

V. 2. (Gr. ex Joa. Damasceni Parall.) Ἐπειδὴ μέλη αὐτοῦ ἐσμὲν καὶ διὰ τῆς κτίσεως τρεφόμεθα, τὴν δὲ κτίσιν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς παρέχει, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλων καὶ βρέχων καθὼς βούλεται, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ποτήριον αἷμα ἴδιον ὡμολόγησε, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἡμέτερον δεύει αἷμα, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἄρτον ἴδιον σῶμα διεβεβαιώσατο, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὔξει σώματα. Ὁπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία αἵματος καὶ σώματος Χριστοῦ (t. and Rothe: εὐχ. σῶμα Χριστοῦ: intp. Euch. sanguinis et corporis Christi), ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὔξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις· πῶς δεκτικὴν μὴ εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν σάρκα τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου τρεφομένην καὶ μέλος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσαν;

Grabe compares IV. c. 57.: "Accipiens panem suum corpus esse confitebatur, et temperamentum calicis suum sanguinem confirmavit." He adds: "Agitur de pane et vino naturali nostrum corpus naturale alentibus, non de substantia personalis Christi corporis et sanguinis." Also Fragm. Iren. ab Œcumenio ad 1. Petr. iii. adligatum (Gr. p. 469.): "Servi Christianorum quæstioni subjecti a dominis se audîsse dicebant: τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν αἷμα καὶ σῶμα εἶναι Χριστοῦ, αὐτοὶ νομίσαντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ

σάρκα εἶναι. Blandina martyr tormentis excruciata respondit ad hæc: Πῶς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιντο οἱ μηδὲ τῶν ἐφειμένων κρεῶν δι' ἄσκησιν ἀπολαύοντες;

II.

THE PFAFFIAN FRAGMENT.

(Fabric. Hippolyti Opp. pars 2da. Printed also in the Benedictine edition of Irenæus. See Rothe's "Anfänge," p. 361—374., and his "Commentatio," p. 22.)

Οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολουθηκότες ἴσασι, τὸν κύριον νέαν προσφορὰν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ καθεστηκέναι κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχίου τοῦ προφήτου· Διότι ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ ἕως δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδόξασται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν πάντι τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσάγεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ θυσία καθαρά· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει λέγει· Τὰ θυμιάματα εἰσὶν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ὁ Παῦλος παρακαλεῖ ἡμᾶς, παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ἡμῶν. Καὶ πάλιν· Ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, τουτέστι καρπὸν χειλέων. Αὗται μὲν αἱ προσφοραὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰσί, οὗ τὸ χειρόγραφον ἐξαλείψας ὁ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἦρκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα· ἐν πνεύματι γὰρ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν τὸν Θεόν. Διότι καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ της εὐχαριστίας οὐκ ἔστι σαρκικὴ, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθαρά. Προσφέρομεν γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῇ γῇ ἐκέλευσε ἐκφύσαι τοὺς καρποὺς τούτους εἰς τροφὴν ἡμετέραν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν προσφορὰν τελέσαντες, ἐκκαλοῦμεν (l. ἐπικαλοῦ-

μεν) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν ἀντιτύπων τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν. Οἱ οὖν ταύτας τὰς προσφορὰς ἐν τῇ ἀναμνήσει τοῦ κυρίου ἄγοντες οὐ τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων δόγμασι προσέρχονται, ἀλλὰ πνευματικῶς λειτουργοῦντες τῆς σοφίας υἱοὶ κληθήσονται.

B.

APPENDIX ON THE CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS OF THE APOSTLES.

(Ch. VIII. IX. X.)

I.

ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM OF THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE APOSTLES.

First Book. *On the Laymen.*

This is an ethic introduction, addressed by the Apostles to all the faithful of the Gentiles. Neither this phrase, nor any part of the contents, seems to me to justify the opinion, that the composition of the work originated with heretical or Judaizing parties, or even with orthodox, but exclusively Judaic, congregations. The ethic system of Christianity is based, by Christ himself, upon the Decalogue, spiritually interpreted: and there is no entrance into the kingdom of heaven, except by the acknowledgment of the moral law, the law of conscience, of which the Decalogue exhibits a solemn expression, and the Sermon on the Mount the Christian interpretation. This was the leaven thrown into the individual and

family life of the ancient world, upon the Judaic basis. Of the different forms of the result of this process, our introduction is the least genuine and primitive: the introduction of the second Greek collection (of the seventh book) is already much nearer the Apostolic simplicity and spirituality. But it is truly catholic. The whole Church was, as an ancient authority says, Judaizing, when Hadrian exterminated the Jewish party in Jerusalem. And after that time there were certainly, for a long period, two parties in the Church, of which the one may be called Petrine and the other Pauline; the one standing more upon the Jewish element and consciousness, the other upon the Hellenic and Roman. As soon as the Apostolic fiction was adopted, and works appeared purporting to contain decrees emanating from a late assembly of the Apostles, and intrusted to their disciple, Clement of Rome, it was natural that the authors should address the laymen as the faithful of the Gentiles, the countrymen of Clement, and those who might be supposed to want, more than the converted Jewish congregations, express precepts for their congregational organization, and for their private domestic and social conduct. The exhortation begins with the definition of the "Catholic Church, God's plantation and His elect vineyard," as the totality of the faithful. This passage is quoted by Epiphanius (45. 5.), but without the epithet "elect" before vineyard. The ethic principles of Christian life are then explained. In this exposition the Scripture is taken as the guide; the Law, the Book of the Kings, the Prophets and Psalms, and the Gospels as their complement (*συμπλήρωμα*), are recommended. The quotations from the Gospels refer particularly to the Sermon on the Mount, according to St. Matthew. Men are exhorted to avoid luxury in dress, and to let hair and beard simply grow (a passage quoted by Epiphanius, 80. 7.);

women are admonished not to frequent baths open to both sexes; and they are to appear covered. This means veiled, and is evidently more than what is understood by covering the head, which is prescribed in the second book of the Constitutions (ch. 57.) to women when they go to the Communion. The writing betrays the Oriental origin, as the whole tenor of the admonitions against violation of decency in bathing, and against idol-worship, points to the same.

There occur in this book, as well as in the following five books, several passages which bear a strong resemblance to corresponding expressions in the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles of the second interpolation; a circumstance, which, with many others, points to Asia Minor as to the native country of both texts. As to the time, one passage at least of our present text supposes Christian emperors *, or the Theodosian time, and that is also the probable time of the origin of the second interpolation as Usher has already observed. But the groundwork of our Greek text points to the second part of the third century.

SECOND BOOK. "De Epps. Presbytt. et Diaconis."

On Episcopal Functions, and Worship [*and Work-Days*].

A. *On the Office of a Bishop.*

I. ch. 1—5. Age, election, monogamy, conduct, judicial power of bishops: this is more original than the rest.

ch. 6—36. Enlargement, and, in particular, idolatrous elevation of episcopal authority: entirely, in style

* See Ignatian Letters, p. 204. sqq.

and phrase, agreeing with the second Ignatian interpolation.

II. ch. 37—50. Continuation of ch. 5.

The trial is to take place before the bishop; the necessity of penitence. The bishop is the judge; presbyters and deacons assist. The day for such judicial sittings is Monday (2da feria).

B. *On Christian Church and Worship* (ch. 57—63.).

ch. 57. a. The form of the Church, the ancient Christian basilica: oblong, similar to a ship, looking to the west: on the east side, on both flanks (of the tribune) pastophoria=ἐξέδραι, "sacristy" and "vestry." These two lateral tribunes are unknown to the ancient Christian basilica of Rome, and of the Western Churches in general: but they are mentioned in the East from the fourth century, and might have already existed in the third.*

b. The form of service: more ancient: no prescribed form for the prayer of consecration. *Sacrifice* (θυσία) is the solemn *oblation* with prayers. This takes place *before the communion*, but is preceded by the general thanksgiving and the prayer for the Church. The *osculum pacis* and the benediction make the transition. The *exhortation* (sermon) after the Gospel, first by the presbyters and then by the bishop.

ch. 58. Visitors, admission and placing of them; places of the honoured visitors.

ch. 59. Daily meetings, particularly on the *Sabbath* and the *Lord's Day*.

ch. 60, 61. Exhortation to frequent the meetings: emulating the zeal of Jews and Pagans.

* Bunsen, Die christlichen Basiliken. 1842. 4.

C. *On Work-Days and Work.* Old.

ch. 62. Admonition not to take part in heathen rites, processions, incantations, public meetings (πανηγύρεις) in the ἀγορά, *unless it be for buying a slave to convert him,* or buying eatables.

ch. 63. He who does not work shall not eat.

It deserves to be remarked, that Books II. III. IV. begin all with δέ in the first sentence.

THIRD BOOK. "De Viduis."

On Widows [*and on Baptism*].

This book exhibits two heads, Widows and Baptism: some regulations on ecclesiastical offices at the end are evidently an appendix. But of those two heads the section on widows appears the more primitive part in this place, for the next book begins with the chapter on orphans.

A. *On Widows and Deaconesses:* not to be received (as members of the body of widows) under sixty years. Their duties, and the bishop's duties towards them, and towards all the indigent, particularly women. They are to hear and to pray with all modesty, not to teach nor baptize. ch. 1—9.

[ch. 10, 11. But neither are laymen to perform sacerdotal functions: baptism, oblation, imposition of hands, benediction; order of clerical functions.] An evident insertion.

ch. 12—14. A widow ought not to be envious of other widows.

ch. 15. a. On the service of deaconesses in baptizing.
b. General exhortation to the women and laymen to do their duty.
(The latter part of ch. 15. forms the transition to baptism.)

B. *On the Administration of Baptism* (with the Chrisma; oil of Spirit; confirmation or public confession of faith: every Christian becomes king and priest. Comp. ch. 15. end). ch. 16—19.

In ch. 18. the remarkable expression occurs, that the catechumen, when baptized, is to pray the Lord's Prayer, ὡς ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τοῦ τῶν πιστῶν συναθροίσματος: exhibiting his sacerdotal character by praying aloud as in the name of the congregation.

In ch. 17. we meet with a palpable post-Nicene corruption: πατὴρ, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός· Χριστὸς ὁ μονογενὴς Θεὸς (l. Θεοῦ) ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱὸς, ὁ τῆς δόξης κύριος. All the rest is perfectly ante-Nicene; the Spirit is sent by Christ, *is taught by Him*, and preaches Him.

Appendix: a small fragment; here awkwardly appended.
[ch. 20. The duties of deacons.
ch. 21. The bishop to be ordained (χειροτονεῖσθαι) by two or three bishops, the presbyter and deacon by the bishop; the duties and office of both.]

FOURTH BOOK. "De Orphanis."

On Orphans, Oblations, Domestic and Social Relations.

A. *On Orphans:* duties of congregation and bishop. ch. 1—3.

B. *On Oblations:* duties of those who give, and those who receive them. ch. 4—10.

C. *On Domestic Relations* (parents and children, masters and servants). ch. 11, 12.

[*On Duty to Government:* to obey (Apostolic injunction). ch. 13.]

D. *On Virgins:* no precept of the Lord. ch. 14.

FIFTH BOOK. "De Martyribus."

On Martyrs [*and on the Christian Festivals*].

(A.) ch. 1ª. (1ᵇ—6. 10—12.) General duties towards confessors of the faith: ch. 1ª.

The first period of ch. 1. contains a beautiful description of the duty of the brethren to help the brother imprisoned or condemned for the confession of his faith. All the rest of that chapter is a rhetorical amplification, the work of him who rewrote the simple old text.

ch. 2. is a tame repetition.

ch. 3. Of those who are flying to save their faith.

ch. 4. Of those who deny Christ.

ch. 5, 6. Exhortation in times of persecution.

Interpolation: Further amplification.

[ch. 7. On resurrection (Sibylline books).

ch. 8, 9. On true (St. James the brother, and St. Stephen) and false martyrs.]

ch. 10—12. Further exhortations.

(B.) *On the Christian Festivals and Fasts.* ch. 13—20. Practice of fourth, fifth, sixth centuries.

1. Τὸ γενέθλιον (25th of 9th month).

2. Ἡ ἐπιφάνιος, manifestation of divinity in baptism (6th of 10th month).

3. The quadragesimal fast (begins on Monday, terminating on Friday).

4. The holy week (full fast: short history of passion week.) ch. 14.

5. Fast of 4th and 6th day (Wednesday and Friday) for the Betrayal and the Passion.

6. Pascha (resurrection). *Not* with the Jews, but on the first: never *before equinox* (22nd day of 12th month), and never but on a Sunday.

Epiphan. (Hæres. Audianorum, sect. 10, 11, 12.) quotes the ordinance of the Apl. Constitutt. on this subject, as saying the very contrary: "They (the Gentile Christians) are always to celebrate Easter when the Jews do; if the brethren of the circumcision are wrong, it is their concern)."

7. Pentecost.

8. Second great fasting: week after Pentecost. Recapitulation on feasts and fasts (ch. 20.); conclusion of book; meeting every Sabbath (*the* one excepted) and every Sunday with rejoicing (ἐπιτελοῦντες συνόδους εὐφραίνεσθε).

A very poor and diffuse chapter, and evidently an addition to the first six chapters, which themselves are a rewritten text.

Sixth Book. "De Schismaticis."

[*On Schisms and Heresies.*] *On Purity and conjugal Life.*

Interpolation ch. 1—16. 18.

[*On Schisms and Heresies:* Simon; Cleobius and other disciples of Dositheus; Cerinthus, Marcus, Menander, Basilides, Saturnilus.

Warning against false books, blaspheming against God and the law, creation and marriage. ch. 1—16. Admonition against communion with heretics. ch. 18.]

The poorest of all chapters; indeed, quite stupid! The Apostles (!) are made to warn against the heretics, amongst whom Basilides and Saturnilus are named!

On Marriage and Purity of Men. (ch. 17. 27—30.)

I. *Marriage of Clergy:*

Priests can have only one wife, and cannot be married when once ordained.

Subdeacons (ὑπηρέται), cantors, lectors, and ostiarii may marry (once) even when of the clergy.

No clergyman may marry a widow or divorced woman, or a servant or a mistress, or a deaconess virgin, or a widow who having (only once) been married might otherwise marry again.

Interpolation:

ch. 19—26. Exposition that *Christ is the Perfecter of the Law*, and that the Jewish, as well as the Gentile, observances are at an end. Difference of Decalogue and Levitical law. This insertion, ch. 19—26., constitutes one chapter, or as it were, one essay. The end of ch. 25. forms an evident conclusion. Ch. 26. is a new admonition against the heretics, Simon, Gnostics, Ebionites, and Noetians or Sabellians (Χριστὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα δοξάζοντες).

Very remarkable is the distinction between the Decalogue and the ἐπείσακτος νόμος; the whole ritual legislation being considered as having been given by Moses after the people had fallen into the idolatry of the golden calf, and thus deserved such shackles: only then sacrifices were *prescribed*.

The Decalogue is very warmly praised, and defended against Simon.]

II. *Impurity and Marriage.*

ch. 27—30. Against Jewish superstition about the supposed impurity of natural things connected with sex. ch. 27.

ch. 28. On real impurities: pederasty, adultery, fornication.

ch. 29, 30. Conjugal life: duties of wife and husband.

RECAPITULATION.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
FIRST BOOK.	Ethical introduction.
SECOND BOOK.	
A. *On the Office of a Bishop.*	
I. Requisites and judicial power. ch. 1—5.	Enlargement on the divine nature of episcopal authority. ch. 6—36.
II. Form of trial. ch. 37—50.	
B. *On Christian Church and Worship.*	
Regulations on worship. ch. 56—61.	The form of a Basilica. ch. 57*.
C. *On Work-Days and Work.*	
Admonition against heathen rites. ch. 62.	
Injunction to work. ch. 63.	

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
THIRD BOOK.	
A. *On Widows and Deaconesses.*	
The reception and duties of widows. ch. 1—9.	
Moral precepts for the same. ch. 12—14.	Laymen not to encroach upon sacerdotal functions. ch. 10, 11.
Office of deaconesses in baptism. ch. 15[a].	General exhortation to women and laymen. ch. 15[b].
B. *On the Administration of Baptism.* ch. 16—19.	
Appendix. Fragment on duties of deacons and on ordination of bishops. ch. 20, 21.	
FOURTH BOOK.	
A. On Orphans. Duties towards them. ch. 1—3.	
B. On Oblations. ch.—10.	
C. On Domestic Relations. ch. 11, 12.	On duty to government. ch. 13.
D. On Virgins. ch. 14	
FIFTH BOOK.	
(A). *On Duties towards Confessors and persecuted Brethren.* ch. 1. first period.	Amplification of the subject. Remainder of ch. 1. and ch. 2—6.
	Interpolated amplification: On Resurrection and the Protomartyrs and false Martyrs. ch. 7—9.
	Concluding exhortations. ch. 10—12.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
	(B). *On the Christian Festivals and Fasts.* (The original groundwork is entirely lost by the amplification.) ch. 13—20.
SIXTH BOOK.	
On Marriage and Purity of Men.	On Schisms and Heresies. ch. 1—16. 18.
On Marriage of Clergy. ch. 17.	
	Essay designed to show that Christ is the perfecter of the Law. ch. 19—26.
On pretended and real impurity, and on conjugal life. ch. 27—30.	Ch. 24. is decidedly *post-Nicene*, and so probably the whole.

RESULT.

Arranging the ordinances according to the four heads: the Catechumens and Baptism, the Government and Administration of the Church, the Worship, and the Domestic and general ethical Institutions or Ordinances, we have the following genuine, although not textual, regulations of the ante-Nicene Church.

I. *On the Catechumens and Baptism.*

Administration of Baptism. Book III. B. ch. 16—19.

II. *On the Government and Administration of the Church.*

On the Office of a Bishop. Book II. A. ch. 1—5. 37—50.

On the Duties of Deacons and the Ordination of Bishops. Book III. Appendix. ch. 20, 21.

On Widows and Deaconesses. Book III. ch. 1—9. 12—14. 15[a].

On Orphans. Book IV. A. ch. 1—3.

On Virgins. Book IV. D. ch. 14.

On Oblations. Book IV. B. ch. 4—10.

On Confessors and persecuted Brethren. Book V. 1[a].

III. *On Worship, Festivals, and Fasts.*

(Groundwork of the regulations on Festivals and Fasts. Book V. B. ch. 13—20.)

IV. *On Domestic and general ethical Institutions and Ordinances.*

On Marriage and conjugal Life. Book VI. ch. 27—30.

On Marriage of Clergy. Book VI. ch. 27.

II.

ANALYSIS OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE seventh book is a composition collateral with the first six books, as well as with the eighth. The primitive parts are, on the whole, the same, as to the subjects treated; and the form is the same, not only as to the fiction of the Apostles themselves delivering their ordinances, but also as to the introduction prefixed to the book, which is of a general, ethic and moralizing character. As to the superscription, or title, it is very vague: "On the Polity (order of Christian community and life), and on the Eucharist (thanksgiving), and on the Christian initiation." *

All this belongs to the compiler. As to the materials, they are entirely different from those of the preceding book, and so is the style. In short, we have here a once separate collection of customs and ordinances, of Apostolic authority in another Church; and, on the whole, there is much less rewriting and adjusting of the materials. Still the literary hand is also here visible in the last formation. Our author has plumed himself in the introduction with the thoughts and the very phrases of the Epistle of Barnabas, that is to say, a very early Alexandrian apocryphal writing; whereas the first six books betray only imitation of passages from the second

* Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν μυήσεως.

Ignatian forgery, which seems to belong, like the first, to Asia Minor, certainly neither to Alexandria nor to Antioch.

Ethic Introduction, ch. 1—18. (and ch. 19. as transition): an exposition of the "two ways," the way of life and the way of death; which is an amplification of the second (the parenetic) part (ch. 18—20.) of the Epistle of Barnabas

(*General Instructions for Catechumens and beginning Christians.* I.—IV. ch. 20—24.)

I. *Prohibitions to eat what has been sacrificed to Idols.* ch. 20, 21.

II. *On Baptism.* [Ch. 22. Introduction, with reference to "what had already been said before on the subject." Some ritual details as to oil and chrisma. *Fasting before baptism is prescribed:* the introduction and the conclusion (which is an explanation why fasting is to take place before and not, as in the case of Christ, after baptism) are the wisdom of the compiler.]

III. *On Feasts and Fasts.* ch. 23.

IV. *On the Lord's Prayer:* to be prayed thrice a day, with devotion. ch. 24.

V. *On the Celebration of the Eucharist.* ch. 25—28.

This section is highly interesting in itself, and most important in showing the history of the corruption of our text, and the way to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Present Order of Section B.

ch. 25. Prayer of thanksgiving before the Communion. No one must communicate who is not baptized.

ch. 26. Prayer of thanksgiving after the Communion. Psalm verses and short allocutions.
"Permit also to your presbyters to give thanks."

ch. 27. Prayer of thanksgiving respecting the chrisma (used in baptism).
He who does not properly give thanks must not be admitted.

ch. 28. A righteous prophet or teacher must not be admitted.

Every body perceives easily that this cannot be the original order. But the order becomes apparent as soon as we separate the two elements jumbled together, the formularies of set prayers, and the rest. These formularies are the secondary element, and superadded to some short symbolical antiphonies and epiphonemata, which, as found in all liturgies of the Christian world, and being more primitive in themselves, evidently are more ancient than those collects, which, indeed, are not preserved in any liturgy now known.

This will be made evident, first, by the mere juxtaposition of the elements, according to that division.

Canons.

ch. 25. Let nobody partake of the Communion who is not baptized.

ch. 26. end, ch. 27. end. Allow to presbyters (coming to you) to celebrate the Communion (if they say the thanksgiving according to the true faith): otherwise they are not to be allowed to celebrate.

ch. 27. Receive and admit whoever comes to you well tried: to a false teacher give only what is needful, and do not pray with him; but treat a true prophet and teacher with all honour.

Ritual Ordinances.

A. *Ancient Text:* Antiphonies and acclamations immediately preceding the Communion.

"This is Maranatha." (See 1 Cor. xvi. 22.) Sense: This is the real coming of the Lord. (Found only in this passage.)

"Hosanna to the Son of David:
Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord!"

"God is the Lord:
Who has been made manifest to us in the flesh."

"If one is holy let him draw near:
If he is not, let him become so through penitence."

B. *Later Additions.*

Before the antiphonies:

Prayer before the Communion.
Prayer after the Communion.

After the antiphonies:

Prayer concerning the chrisma.

But, in order to show the origin of our text more palpably, I shall give the present and the restored text of this confused passage: —

Present Order.	Ancient Text.
ch. 25. Εὐχαριστία μυστική.	*On the Celebration of the Eucharist.*
[Γίνεσθε δὲ πάντοτε εὐχάριστοι, ὡς πιστοὶ καὶ εὐγνώμονες δοῦλοι· περὶ μὲν τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτως λέγοντες. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ζωῆς ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ	A. *Ritual Chants before the Communion.* 1. Αὕτη μαραναθά! 2. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Present Order.	Ancient Text.
πάντα ἐποιήσας . . . ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο διεσκορπισμένον, καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο εἷς ἄρτος· οὕτω συνάγαγέ σου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς σὴν βασιλείαν. . . Ἀμήν. Μηδεὶς δὲ ἐσθιέτω ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμυήτων . . .]	3. Θεὸς κύριος· ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί. 4. Εἴ τις ἅγιος, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, γινέσθω διὰ μετανοίας. (ch. 26. 2nd part.)
ch. 26. Εὐχαριστία ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ μεταλήψει. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν, οὕτως εὐχαριστησάτω· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὁ Θεὸς . . . καὶ συνάγαγε πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας· αὕτη μαραναθά· ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· Θεὸς κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί· εἴ τις ἅγιος, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, γινέσθω διὰ μετανοίας· ἐπιτρέπετε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εὐχαριστεῖν.	B. *Canons respecting the Admission to the Eucharist and Communion.* 1. Μηδεὶς ἐσθιέτω τῶν ἀμυήτων· ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ βεβαπτισμένοι εἰς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου θάνατον· εἰ δέ τις ἀμύητος κρύψας ἑαυτὸν μεταλάβῃ, κρίμα αἰώνιον φάγεται· ὅτι μὴ ὢν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, μετέλαβεν· ὧν οὐ θέμις, εἰς τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰ δέ τις κατὰ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβῃ, τούτου τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μυήσατε, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονητὴς ἐξέλθοι. (ch. 25. end.) 2. Ἐπιτρέπετε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις (ἐρχομένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς) εὐχαριστεῖν. (ch. 26. end.)
ch. 27. Εὐχαριστία περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μύρου. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Θεὲ δημιουργὲ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου . . . . ὅτι σοῦ	

Present Order.	Ancient Text.
ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. Ὃς ἐὰν ἔλθῃ οὕτως εὐχαριστῇ προσδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητήν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσσῃ παρ' ἣν ἡμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν, τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ συγχωρεῖτε· εὐχαριστεῖν· ὑβρίζει γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν Θεὸν ἢπερ δυξάζει.	Ὃς ἂν ἐλθὼν εὐ εὐχαριστῇ, προσδέξασθε ἑαυτὸν ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθήτην· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσσῃ . . . . . ἢπερ δοξάζει.
ch. 28. Ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἀδιαφορεῖν περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν.	(ch. 27. end.)
Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δοκιμασθεὶς, οὕτω δεχέσθω . . . . τῷ δὲ ψευδοδιδασκάλῳ δώσετε μὲν τὰ πρὸς χρείαν, οὐ παραδέξεσθε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλάνην . . .	3. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. . . . . (ch. 28.)

VI. *First-fruits* to be given to the Clergy, and *Tithes* for the Poor. ch. 29.

The first-fruits of wine, must, corn, cattle and sheep, go to the bishop: other first-fruits of the produce of the land are to be given to the clergy in general, the priests (ἱερεῦσιν): but first-fruits of silver, and dress, and all property, to the orphan and widow, and the tithes to the poor in general.

VII. The Congregation regularly to give thanks on the *Lord's Day*. ch. 30.

VIII. To *elect* (προχειρίζειν) wise and irreproachable men

as *Bishops*, and to honour them as fathers and benefactors, and to live in *peace* and *charity* with each other, in keeping of the Lord's commandments, and in watchfulness. ch. 31.

[ch. 32. *Homiletic and liturgical Enlargement.* An exhortation upon the last times and the Judgment: to which a prayer is attached respecting God's providence in the ordination of this world, and in the mercy shown to our ancestor, Abraham, and to Jacob and Moses.]

[ch. 33—38. *Liturgical Interpolation.* To this prayer, again, other prayers are attached, equally for use on Sundays: mostly thanksgivings.]

IX. *On the Instruction and Baptism of Catechumens.* ch. 39., with enlargement in ch. 40—45.

ch. 39. gives a twofold complete *general instruction.* First, how the catechumen is to be instructed respecting the ways of God from the creation to the salvation through Christ. Secondly, how he, "who is to lay the hands upon them," is to give thanks (εὐχαριστεῖν) for the remission of sins, and to pray that God may enlighten and enable the catechumen to be baptized.

This ordinance must first have stood alone, for what follows at the end of the 39th makes a very awkward transition to the particulars which are now given. For it prescribes that, after this thanksgiving (of the bishop), the catechumen is to be instructed on the very same subjects which have been enumerated in what precedes.*

* Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ταύτην παιδευσάτω αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ

ch. 40, 41. Follows now a form of *Renunciation of the Devil* and *Confession of Faith*, preceded by a theological introduction. The *Confession of Faith* is very much in the language of the second interpolation of the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistle to the Magnesians, ch. xi.: in some MSS. only with the post-Nicene interpolation of the words οὐ κτισθέντα after the phrase, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα.

ch. 42, 43. Instruction for prayer in blessing the oil and the water, and then for immersing and anointing him.

ch. 44, 45. Prayer over the chrisma; instruction for the catechumen to pray, standing with his face towards the East, *the Lord's Prayer*, and then another prayer. ch. 45.

All this is a superstructure, built upon the more simple practice described in Book II. n. v. and on ch. 39.

What follows is decidedly a later *intrusion*.

[ch. 46. *Historical Appendix. The first bishops* of the Apostolic or most ancient Churches, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome. Besides these great leading Churches, and names of ancient congregations known from the Acts, all the rest almost are Churches of Asia Minor, and, in particular, the district in which the forged epistles of Ignatius move, viz.:

τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, τά τε περὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀναλήψεως.

(ch. 40, 41.) Καὶ ὅταν ᾖ πρὸς αὐτὸ λοιπὸν τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ὁ κατηχηθείς, κ.τ.λ.

Ephesus,	Pergamus,	Colossæ,
Smyrna,	Laodicea,	Galatia.
Philadelphia,		

The other Churches named are Cenchreæ, Crete and Athens, besides Tripolis in Phœnicia and Marathon.]

All this is a very late and poor interpolation of the same stamp as that of the heresies, and historically not much better than the Catalogue of the Apostles and the seventy Disciples of Pseudo-Hippolytus.

[ch. 47—49. *Liturgical Appendix.* Forms for morning and evening prayer, and for grace before luncheon.]

RECAPITULATION.

ANALYTICAL CONTENTS OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
	Ethical introduction. ch. 1—19.
I. Prohibition to eat sacrificial meat. ch. 20, 21.	
II. Ritual of Baptism. (Groundwork of ch. 22.)	
III. On Feasts and Fasts. ch. 23.	
IV. On the praying of the Lord's Prayer. ch. 24.	
V. On the celebration of the Eucharist. ch. 25—	Liturgical formularies of prayer in ch. 25—28.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
28. (without the formularies).	
VI. On First-fruits to be given to the Clergy, and Tithes for the Poor. ch. 29.	
VII. On the celebration of the Lord's Day. ch. 30.	
VIII. On election of Bishops, and honour due to them. ch. 31.	Homiletic and liturgical enlargement and interpolation. ch. 32—38.
IX. On the Instruction and Baptism of Catechumens. ch. 39[a].	Ritual enlargement upon the Baptism. ch. 39[b]—45.
	Appendix. List of the first Bishops of the ancient Churches. ch. 46.
	Liturgical Appendix. ch. 47—49.

RESULT.

According to the four general heads of ancient regulations, as mentioned in the Recapitulation of the Contents of the first Six Books, we have the following Table:

I. *On the Catechumens and Baptism.*
Ritual of Baptism. II. ch. 22.
Instruction and Baptism of Catechumens. IX. ch. 39[a].

II. *On the Government and Administration of the Church.*

On Bishops and their Election. VIII. ch. 31.
On First-fruits and Tithes. VI. ch. 29.

III. *On Worship.*

On Feasts and Fasts. III. ch. 23.
On celebration of the Lord's Day. VII. ch. 30.
On the celebration of the Eucharist. V. ch. 25—28.

IV. *Domestic Regulations and ethical Instructions and Ordinances.*

Prohibition to eat sacrificial Meat. I. ch. 20—21.
On the praying of the Lord's Prayer. IV. ch. 24.

III.

ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
Introduction. Identical.	A. *Introduction.* Ch. I. II.
	Ch. I. II. On the gifts of the Holy Spirit.
	B. *On Ordination and Institution for ecclesiastical Offices.* Ch. IV. V. XVI.—XXVI.
	[Ch. III. is a very awkward transition from the Introduction to the Ordinances on Ordination.]
Ch. I. Identical. Inscription: Περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου.	Ch. IV. *On the Election and Ordination of a Bishop.* (The bishop to be elected by the people, an irreproachable, distinguished man.* If he accept, the people on a Sunday, in presence of presbytery and bishops, declare their pleasure. The most eminent (πρόκριτος) of the bishops present ascertains, by three times repeated questions, whether this person be the man of their choice, and whether any objection is brought forward against him.

* Ἀριστίνδην, read with the old text ἄριστον.

The bishops assembled for the purpose are those of the neighbourhood, as corresponding passages show: the *πρόκριτος* is the bishop of the principal town. This alone is the historical sense of the much misunderstood 35th of the Apostolical Canons. Thus Rome was the metropolis, and the bishop the *πρόκριτος*, with respect to Tusculum, Ostia, Portus, and the other suburban towns.

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
Ch. II. A shorter and better form, without the addition respecting the service.	Ch. V. *Prayer of Ordination.* [At the end there is an evident appendix, to serve as transition to the following interpolated Order of the Communion Service, or Liturgy. This appendix contains the Order of the preparatory Morning Service.]
	[Ch. VI.—XV. The Liturgy. The whole of the service including the Prayer of Consecration, is written down.] An interpolation not earlier than the fifth century.
Ch. III. IV. Identical, with a few various readings.	Ch. XVI. Ordination of *Presbyter:* and Prayer. He is to be instituted according to the voice of the whole presbytery.
Ch. V. VI. Identical.	Ch. XVII. XVIII. Ordination of *Deacon:* and Prayer.
Ch. VII. VIII. Identical.	Ch. XIX. XX. Ordination of *Deaconess:* and Prayer.
[Ch. IX. X. Identical.]	[Ch. XXI. Ordination of *Subdeacon:* and Prayer.]

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
Ch. XI. No imposition of hands: the Bible is held over his head. For the rest identical.	Ch. XXII. Ordination of *Lector*: [and Prayer]. [Imposition of hands prescribed.]
Ch. XII.—XV. On Confessors, Virgins, Widows, Exorcists: identical.	Ch. XXIII. On *Confessors*. Ch. XXIV. On *Virgins*. Ch. XXV. On *Widows*. Ch. XXVI. On *Exorcists*.
	C. *Another series of Canons, on the Nature of the different ecclesiastical Offices.*
Ch. XVI. Identical.	Ch. XXVII. That a Bishop is not to be ordained by one, but by three or two. Only in time of persecution, or for a similar reason, an exception may be made, but then several bishops must decree it.
In both ascribed to "Simon the Cananean."	
Ch. XVII. Identical.	Ch. XXVIII. The precise difference in the Functions of Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, and the others, down to Lector, Cantor, and Deaconess. Ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογεῖ οὐκ εὐλογεῖται, &c.
In both ascribed to "the same."	
	[Ch. XXIX. On the Blessing of Water and Oil.] (Evident intrusion: also not in the other text.)

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
	D. *On First-fruits, Titles, and the remains of Oblations.*
Ch. XVIII. Identical: only at the end the deacons are simply designated as ὑπηρετούμενοι, and therefore "διακόνων" (added in the other text) is omitted.	Ch. XXX. On First-fruits and Tithes.
Ch. XIX. Περὶ εὐλογιῶν. Identical. Here seems to have been anciently the conclusion of a section, for there is written after ch. xix.: Περὶ χειροτονιῶν καὶ ἑτέρων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καταστάσεων (sc. "explicit", terminates).	Ch. XXXI. Περὶ περισσευμάτων.
	E. *On the Presentation, Admission, Instruction, and Baptism of the Catechumens.* Ch. XXXII[a]. (Ascribed to St. Paul) with the addition περὶ κανόνων, which gives no sense: read περὶ κατηχουμένων, which is the primitive inscription of this section.
Ch. XX[a]. Identical.	A most ancient and original Ordinance.
	F. *Rules for Christian Domestic Life.* Ch. XXXII[b].—XXXIV.
Ch. XX[b]. Identical.	Ch. XXXII[b]. The last two injunctions contained in the chapter headed "On Catechumens" do not at all refer to this

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
	subject, but contain the beginning of the rules for domestic life; and they are the original primitive text: the last two injunctions are awkward additions. 1. All believers, men or women, to pray when they have risen, after having washed: if they can hear an instruction (κατήχησις, a sermon) they are to avail themselves of it, instead of immediately going to work. 2. Believers, men or women, must treat their servants well.
Ch. XXI. Identical.	Ch. XXXIII. Which are the days for the Servants to work, and which are holidays.
Ch. XXII. Identical.	Ch. XXXIV. Times for praying. [Added XXXV.—XLI. Different forms of prayer: morning and evening prayer, and others.]
	G. *On the Commemoration of the Dead.* Ch. XLII. XLIII.
Ch. XXIII. Identical.	Ch. XLII. Days for the Commemoration of the Dead.
Ch. XXIV. Identical.	Ch. XLIII. On behaviour at the Funeral Repast.

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
	H. *Duties towards those who are persecuted for the Faith.*
Ch. XXV. Identical.	Ch. XLIV.
	I. *On good Order.*
Ch. XXVI. Περὶ εὐταξίας. Identical. Θεῷ after Χριστῷ is not in this text.	Ch. XLV. That nobody is to overstep the Boundaries of his Office. [Conclusion.] After Χριστῷ, "Θεῷ" is added.

RESULT.

The genuine Ordinances of the Eighth Book, arranged according to our four heads, give the following Table:

I. *On Catechumens and Baptism.*

General regulation respecting Catechumens. Ch. XX[a].

II. *On Government and Administration of the Church.*

On Ordination and Institution for ecclesiastical Offices. Ch. I.—VIII. XI—XV.

A Bishop to be ordained by two or three. Ch. XVI.

On the character of the different clerical Functions. Ch. XVII.

On the First-fruits and Tithes. Ch. XVIII.

On the sacred Remains. Ch. XIX.

On Duties towards Confessors. Ch. XXV.

III. *On Worship and Funeral Meetings.*

On Holidays. Ch. XXI.
On Times for Prayer. Ch. XXII.
On Days for Commemoration of the Dead. Ch. XXIII.
On behaviour at a Funeral Repast. Ch. XXIV.

IV. *Domestic and ethical Regulations.*

(Early Prayer. Treatment of Servants.) Ch. XX[a].
On good Order. Ch. XXVI.

IV.

THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA, AS PRESERVED IN THE NATIONAL CHURCH, COMPARED WITH THE GREEK TEXTS.

THIS collection has in general the form of the Greek Constitutions. The Ordinances are called "Canons of the Apostles, by the hand of Clement;" and this fiction is carried through in the same manner and spirit, although the words are different. Vansleb, in his "Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie" (1677), says that this Collection is common to the Coptic Church, and to the Syrian Christians (as it appears, both the Jacobite and the Melchite, or Catholic, party), by whom they were translated into Arabic; and, finally, to the Abyssinians, who, as Vansleb says, preserve them in their own language. He also names the Nestorians; and, if this is not an inaccurate expression of the Arabic author whom he quotes, it would prove that the Syrian Christians in Kurdistan (Assyria), nicknamed Chaldeans and Nestorians, had the same Canons as the Monophysite Syrians and Egyptians. Unfortunately, we know nothing yet authentically about that ancient, and, up to our days, cruelly persecuted, national Church in ancient Assyria. The Protestant missionaries have given us rather conjectures, than the facts by which alone they can be judged; the publication of their Liturgy and of their other sacred books would be of the greatest interest, and a few pages in their own present

language would put an end to all uncertainty as to their primitive nationality. I cannot help hoping, however, that the American missionaries, to whom alone we owe what has hitherto been done of *good* among those Syrians, may soon give us their Apostolic Canons, as well as their Liturgy and other sacred records, in their original language. As to the Abyssinian version of this same collection, its existence rests not alone on the authority of Vansleb; for we know through Ludolf the beginning of the Ethiopic text of those Coptic Canons, which shows some interesting differences, as we shall have occasion to remark when treating of the details. The Abyssinian Church has, besides, another collection of 38 Apostolical Canons. It is sufficient to look over their titles, as given by Vansleb and Ludolf, to be convinced that this collection is entirely different from the Coptic Canons published in 1848, for the Oriental Translation Fund, by Archdeacon Tattam, with an English translation, and a learned introduction.

The object of our present inquiry is to show, by a comparison with the Greek texts, both the common traditional stock of the Egyptian collection, and its national originality.

The division of the work seems to be fluctuating and contradictory. The text of the Syrian Church counts 83 Canons, that of the so called Nestorians 82; whereas the Coptic text is, according to him, divided into two books, of which the first contains 71, the second 56, together 127. The fact is, that these numbers are arbitrary, and denote sometimes chapters, sometimes only paragraphs.

The two MSS. published by Tattam have quite a different division. Apparently they constitute eight books: but this number is evidently a fictitious one; for the eighth book is nothing but the well-known Apostolic Canons of the Greek Church, and the remaining seven books dwin-

dle into six. For the number of seven is only obtained by calling the first book "also the second," and the second "also the third," and so on; consequently the sixth is called "also the seventh."

But it would be a great mistake to believe that our six books of Constitutions or Ordinances are the prototype of the Coptic Canons. On the contrary, the Coptic Canons are intimately connected with the eighth book of the Greek collection, but only with its purer text. On the whole, this Egyptian document gives us, more than any other, the key to the origin of the so called "Ordinances of the Apostles," and proves the antiquity both of the materials and of the fiction. It is deeply to be regretted that it has been attempted to maintain the, if rightly understood, undoubted Apostolicity of the ancient customs and ordinances of the Church by such a fiction: but it certainly is an ante-Nicene one.

As these Canons are therefore highly important, and have never yet been noticed in ecclesiastical literature, I shall give the contents complete, and what is original literally.

Book the First. Can. 1—30.

Ethical Introduction, and Offices and Ministrations of the Church.

Introduction and ethic Preamble. Can. 1—14.

[1]According to Christ's commands, the twelve Apostles, before they separated to go into the countries which they had divided amongst them,

[1] As to the general idea only, the introduction is analogous to the two ethic introductions of the first and of the seventh books of the Greek Constitutions. But the way the fiction is carried

assembled in order to make the necessary appointments of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and Widows, and all other regulations for good order in the Churches. They begin with delivering, each in his turn, ethic precepts, founded upon the Decalogue and the Gospel. Among them, St. John points out "the two ways, one of life, the other of death;" Thomas, the duty of gratitude to the teacher. Bartholomew concludes by reminding the Christians that the day of the Lord draweth nigh, and adds the remarkable words: "Be ye lawgivers to your own selves; be ye teachers to yourselves alone, as God hath taught you."

out is in some parts quite original as to the thought, and always as to the expression. "The two ways" are known to us from the introduction of the seventh book: but here Barnabas is not plundered. The concluding sentence, put into the mouth of Bartholomew, is worth all the rest, and original. It is very possible that the man who wrote the Epistle called after Barnabas had our more simple treatise before him. At all events, we have here a genuine old work: there is no literary gloss yet put over the materials.

On the Offices and Ministrations of the Church. Can. 15—28. (Put into the mouth of St. Peter.)

1. [1] *On the Election of the Bishop.*—Whenever there are in a place twelve men ready to dedicate the means for having a Bishop, let them write to the Churches around them, and send three chosen

[1] This rule also represents a more ancient and primitive state than any of the corresponding ones in the Greek Constitutions. The Bishop is simply the rector of "the place," that is to say, a παροικία, parish and diocese together, in the old sense: a town

men to examine the candidate, to see whether he is a lover of the poor, wise and virtuous, and of good repute. "If he have not a wife, it is a good thing: but if he have married a wife, having children, let him abide with her, continuing steadfast in every doctrine, able to explain the Scriptures well: but if he be ignorant of literature, let him be meek." Can. 16. 17.

2. [1] *On the Ordaining of Elders.*—The Bishop is to ordain two elderly men as Elders, or rather three: both to support the Bishop and to make the people love their shepherd. In particular, however, the one is to have the care of the altar and of those who belong to it, the other of the wants of the people. Can. 17—19.

3. [2] *On Appointment of Deacons.*—Three men at least

or borough with the surrounding estates and farms (villæ), the villages of that time. Twelve faithful men are sufficient to demand a Bishop of the other adjoining Churches: they choose three to examine him who is proposed. The Bishop is not self-made, he is proposed by Churches already constituted, or at least is ordained by the Bishops of the neighbouring towns or boroughs. But only after examination and approbation. No objection to a wife and children. Want of learning may be excused by much meekness.

[1] Again, a specimen of highest simplicity, Elders uniting the spiritual and the administrative. The real reason for having three Elders appears to have been this. A provision seemed necessary to prevent an interruption of the twofold service; the ecclesiastical and the congregational inspection. If there were only two Elders, it might often happen that the one branch of the office was neglected. This is, in canons 18 and 19., quaintly and mystically founded upon there being in the Apocalypse twelve elders to the right, and twelve to the left; a prototype chosen because they sit round the throne (Apoc. iv. 4. 6), therefore right and left, as it were alternating in their services.

[2] The Deacons appear here in their primitive ministration.

are to testify to their life, as having had one wife, and brought up their children well: they are to care for the poor, making the rich open their hand. Can. 20. Another recension, to the same purpose, in Can. 22.

4. [1] *On the Appointment of Widows.* — Two; one for praying and thanksgiving, the other for ministering to the sick women. Can. 21.

4a. On the Christian *conduct of the Laymen* to those who serve at the altar. Can. 23.

5. [2] On the service of women as *Deaconesses*, and for the indigent; and on their good behaviour. Can. 24—28. The Apostles agree that women have nothing to do with the ministration at the Eucharist, but can only be made serviceable as nursing the sick and poor.

[1] An original and primitive regulation.

[2] In can. 26. a strange allusion is made to a tradition, probably contained in the "Gospel according to the Egyptians," about a conversation of Christ with Mary and Martha. "Martha said about Mary: Look how she laughs. Mary said: I laughed not. (What follows is conjectural, for both texts are now unintelligible.) But what the Lord said is good: the weak when comforted will be strong" (the weakness of woman may be strengthened). In the conversations of Christ with his disciples, after his resurrection, as related in the Pistis Sophia, Mary and Martha are very conspicuous interlocutors.

[3] Conclusion of the book

[3] This book therefore answers

(which is the first book), enjoining the ordinances as commands of Christ. Can. 29. 30. (This conclusion is evidently an addition: it is, also, not found in the Ethiopic text.)

in its second part to the second section, both of the first and the eighth books; and, as to the first or introductory part, to the introduction both of the first and seventh of the Greek Constitutions.

Book the Second. Can. 31—62.

A. [1] *On the Ordination and Institution of the Bishops and Elders and the Ministrants of the Church.* Can. 31—39.

(6.) 1. *The Ordination of the Bishop.*—The Bishop, chosen by all the people and being found blameless, is to be ordained in the congregation on the Lord's day, all the Bishops consenting,[2] [they laying their hands on him.] The Presbyters standing by, all praying that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him, the most eminent among the Bishops is to lay his hands upon him. After the ordination he receives from all the salute of peace. After which he administers the Communion, putting his hands upon the Eucharist with the Presbyters. He then says the Thanksgiving:

[1] This whole part corresponds as to the contents, and partly as to the wording, with the *first section of the eighth book in its purer form* (Pseudo-Hippolytus), as preserved by the Vienna and Oxford MSS.

[2] The Coptic text, as well as the Arabic, is not very clear. It is evident that all the Bishops (of the neighbourhood) are present; it appears that the most eminent (literally, he who is worthy amongst them, which is meant as translation of πρόκριτος) is the *first* to lay his hand on his head, and to pray over him in the name of the congregation. As this was not understood afterwards, a clause was put in, to bring the whole nearer to the later custom. This now forms an awkward interpolation (the words put between brackets); Tattam inserts "the bishops," which is not in the text.

[1] "The Lord be with you all," &c. (the Præfatio: the people saying the answers).

And then he is to pray according to the custom of the Oblation (*προσφορά*). Can. 31.

[1] "The Thanksgiving" begins with the "Præfatio." The Bishop is then to go through the service of the "Oblation" according to the custom. No form of prayer is prescribed. This receives its explanation by can. 34. (The Abyssinian text has here formularies for the prayer of consecration, for the communion and the benediction.)

(7.) 2. *On the Ordination of the Elders.*—By the Bishop, all the Elders touching his head. Then he is prayed over, exactly as the Bishop. Can. 32. (See Addition, after Can. 33.)

(8.) 3. [2]*On the Ordination of Deacons.*—The Bishop alone lays his hand upon him, because the Deacon is ordained for his service (*ὑπηρεσία*). The Deacon is not to be a member of the council (*συμβούλιον*) of the clergy (*κλῆρος*), but to take care of the sick. Can. 33.

[2] The canon describes the position of the Deacon as it was immediately after the age of the Apostles. They became naturally the helpers (aids) of the Bishops, and therefore frequently their successors (see Ignatian Letters), but they had neither voice nor place in the presbytery, or, as it is here called, the council.

[3] *Addition* to Can. 32. on the *Presbyter.*—"The Bishop shall ordain the Presbyter, that he may receive the Spirit. The Presbyter has no power to give it to the clergy. He can only give the seal (*σφραγίζειν*) in bap-

[3] This gloss, awkwardly inserted, was evidently put in to mark the difference between Bishop and Presbyter more than had been done by the original canon. The end has not been understood by Tattam, who translates "the Presbyter is sealed only," which the Coptic text justifies gram-

tism (later in the confirmation).

(9.) 4. [1] *On Confessors.*—The pure Confessor (ὁμολογήτης) is not ordained as a Deacon or Elder, "for he hath the honour of priesthood by his confession;" only if he is to be a Bishop, they shall lay hands on him, and he then shall "give thanks" (celebrate the communion) as before explained. He should learn (for that purpose) all that has been ordained by the Apostles, for saying Thanksgivings. "But every one shall pray according to his ability: but if he be able to pray suitably, and the prayer acceptable, it is good. But if, when he again prays, he sends forth a prayer in (a certain) measure, no one forbidding him, let him only

matically, but which gives no sense. The meaning can only be that the Presbyter may seal (anoint) the catechumens in baptism. This is the sense of the canons of the Church of Egypt, as can. 45. shows. Comp. Bingham, Orig. xi. 1. 56. In later times, when pedobaptism prevailed, it applied to confirmation. The Egyptian Presbyters had the right to confirm at the end of the third century. See my Ignatian Letters, p. 119—123.

[1] The true Confessors, that is to say, those who had been reviled and punished by the authorities merely for the Lord's name (as Christians), are, by that, Deacons or Elders, without ordination. To be Bishops, however, they must be before ordained. As they might although very pious, still be illiterate, they are, for the first time of their celebrating the communion, exhorted to keep to what is customary or otherwise safe. He might use the Lord's prayer alone, as, St. Gregory says, anciently was done. But afterwards they may pray as the Spirit gives them utterance, only that they say nothing against the right faith. This proves that the prayer of consecration was not prescribed, and it does not indicate that there were standing formularies even for the other prayers in the service. There were only fixed watchwords, and symbolical anthems of exhorta-

pray in an orthodox manner." Can. 34.

(10.) 5. *On the Appointment (καθιστᾶν) of the Reader.*—The Bible is delivered to him, and a prayer said over him by the Bishop, but without imposition of hands. Can. 35.

[6. [1] *On the Naming (ὀνομάζειν) of the Subdeacon.*—He is simply to be named. Can. 36.]

(11.) 6. [2] *On the Naming of Widows.*—"But when a widow is appointed (καθιστᾶν), she shall not be ordained (χειροτονεῖν), but chosen by name (expressed in Coptic words). Her husband must have been dead a long time. Even if she be old, let her be proved for a time; "for (adds the wise canon) often even the passions long survive, and will have place in them." Can. 37.

Addition.—No laying on of hands: for a Widow has not to perform any public tion or adoration, which established a certain regular course of celebration.

[1] An insertion, probably post-Nicene; the Subdeacon was unknown before Athanasius in the Eastern Church. The fact of the interpolation is, at all events, proved by the first words of the next canon, which refers to can. 5. Pseudo-Hippolytus and the eighth book have the same interpolation.

[2] Compare the analogous canon of book I. (can. 21.), where the double office of the Widow is explained (prayer and nursing).

service (λειτουργία): she is appointed for prayer.

(12.) 7. *On Virgins.*—"It is her choice that makes her a virgin:" therefore no laying on of hands. Can. 38.

(13.) 8. [1] *On the Gifts of healing.*—"If one shall say, I have received the gifts of healing by a revelation, they shall not lay hands on him, for the thing itself will be manifest, if he speak the truth." Can. 39.

[1] An entirely original canon. It proves that healings were wrought in the ancient Church as in the time of the Apostles, by touching the patient, by laying on of hands and praying; and the rule given is true Christian wisdom, founded upon experience.

B. [2] *On Catechumens.* Can. 40—46.

"*Of new Men who have not arrived at the faith.*

(14.) 9. "But those who shall be brought[3] into the new faith to hear the word, let them be brought in first to the teachers," before the people come in[4]; and they shall inquire the cause of the thing, for what reason they have drawn near to the faith. And let those who brought them in witness for them, if (on that) they be able to hear the word. And let them inquire after their life, of what sort it is; whe-

[2] The first very old and very generally received part of this section (can. 40—42.) agrees (with slight difference in the details) literally with ch. xx. of Pseudo-Hippolytus and Ap. Constitutt. book VIII. ch. XXXII. And our text shows itself more primitive, because it has not, as the Greek texts have, at the end three short old canons which do not belong to the catechumenic regulations at all. (See note 16.)

[3] According to the Greek text the catechumens are to be brought before the Bishop, and, as it appears, by the Deacons. Our text shows, therefore, a greater liberty: respectable laymen, also, might present catechumens.

[4] This clause is wanting in the Greek.

ther he has a wife[1], or if he is a servant of a believer, and that this has pleased his lord, *then* let him hear. If his lord has not testified for him that he is good, let him be rejected. If his lord be a heathen, he must be taught that he should please his lord, that the Word may not be blasphemed. But if he be one who has a wife, or she a woman who has a husband, let them be taught that the man should content himself with his wife, and that the wife should content herself with her husband. But if he be one who has not dwelt with a wife, let him be taught not to commit fornication, but either that he marry according to the law, or that he remain (single) according to the law.[2] But if one has a demon, let him not hear the word of teaching until he has been purified."[3] Can. 40.

[1] Wanting in the Greek.

[2] Here the Greek text has a beautiful, evidently European or Asiatic insertion: "But if the master being a believer, and knowing that the servant commits fornication, does not give him a wife, or to the woman a husband, let him (the master) be rejected."

[3] Here the Greek text has the addition: "But if, however, death is imminent, let him be admitted."

Of Actions and Works.[1]

(15.) 10. They shall inquire after the actions and works of those who shall be brought in, what they are, that they may appoint them.

If one has been a bawd, who is a supporter of prostitutes, let him cease, or let him be rejected.[2] But if one is a maker of shrines, or a painter (of idols), let such be taught that they should not make idols. Let them cease, or let them be cast out.

If one has the mania of theatrical shows, or if he has been a declaimer in the theatre, let him cease, or let him be cast out. If he teach the young (in theatrical shows) it is good that he should cease. If he does not make a trade of it, let him be forgiven. Likewise he who is guilty of taking a part in the games, and goes into the games, let him cease, or let him be cast out. One who is a gladiator, or he who teaches gladiators to fight, or a hunter in the beast-fight, or a public servant in the gladia-

[1] This title, and the first paragraph, are Egyptian additions.

[2] Greek text adds: "If a whore gives her name, let her cease or be rejected."

torium; let them cease, or let them be cast out.

One who is a priest of the idols, or he who is a keeper of the idols; let them cease, or let them be cast out.[1]

A soldier who is in authority (ἐξουσία)[2], let him not kill a man; or, if he is commanded, let him not hasten to the act; neither let him swear.[3] But, if he is not willing (to observe these commands), let him be rejected.

[4]One who has authority over the sword, or a ruler of a city clothed in purple, let him cease, or let him be rejected.

A catechumen, or a faithful person, if they have desired to be soldiers[5], let them be rejected, because they have despised God.

[6]A harlot, or luxurious man, or one who has been cut off, or he who has done any other thing which it is not becoming to mention; let them be rejected, for they are impure: neither shall

[1] Not in the Greek text.

[2] The Greek text has simply: στρατιώτης προσιών, a soldier who gives his name. I suspect here the Coptic text: and so in what follows.

[3] Instead of the prohibition not to kill a man, &c., the Greek has: "Let him neither do injustice (ἀδικεῖν), nor be a sycophant, and let him be satisfied with his stipend; if he submits to this, let him be received.

[4] This and the next paragraph are peculiar to the Coptic. The purple was considered a sign of Pagan sacerdotal dignity, and therefore abhorred. (Tertullian.)

[5] This regulation evidently supposes heathen armies and heathen emperors.

[6] The same in the Greek, only more explicit.

they bring a magician to the examination. An enchanter, or an astrologer, or a diviner, or an interpreter of dreams, or mountebank, or one who makes charms to be bound round the body, or conjurors of serpents, or who make amulets; let them cease, or let them be cast out.[1]

[2]But a concubine of one, if she is a slave, if she have brought up her children, and is with him alone, let her hear (the word). If she hath not, let her be rejected.

A man[3] who has a concubine, let him leave off that course, and let him marry

[1] The Greek text has here an infinity of names for men exercising forbidden magic, and wicked arts. The Coptic text has only a few, but among them the unknown word ψαλλίστης, which is probably a miswriting for ψυλλίστης, in the sense of ψυλλικός (Hesych.), a man who uses the art of the Psylli, or Libyan conjurors of serpents. The Arabic text is also confused, and Tattam's translation decidedly wrong. What he calls "destroyer of the fringes of the garment," must mean a man who makes amuletic περιάμματα, charms like the φυλακτήρια (amulets).

[2] The Greek text is more precise: "A concubine who is the slave of an infidel, and lives with him alone, let her be received: but, if she has also intercourse with others, let her be rejected."

[3] More explicit in the Greek: "A faithful;" which of course is also meant by the Coptic. Then there is, in what follows, the more

according to the law; but, if he will not, let him be cast out.

[1]But if we have omitted any thing, the things will teach you, for we all have the Spirit of God. Can. 41.

precise wording: "Who has a concubine that is his slave, let him cease; if she be a free woman, let him marry her," &c. Then follows: "If she be engaged to a faithful slave, let her cease or be rejected." "Whoever follows Greek rites (ἔθη) or Judaic fables, let him change his life, or be rejected."

[1] This beautiful spirited reserve, which is found in all texts, points out the difference between the Apostolical age and that of the ecclesiastical system, or the canonical.

Of the Time for those hearing the Word, after the Actions and Works.

(16.) 11. [2]Let the catechumens be three years hearing the word; but if one has been diligent, and persevere well in the work, the time shall not decide, but the application alone shall entirely decide it. Can. 42.[3]

[2] This is the ordinary period in all ordinances. In later times this period is thus subdivided: one year simple Catechumens; the second year Hearers; the third Competentes, or Candidates for Baptism.

[3] The Greek has appended to these catechumenic regulations three canons, old, but added here arbitrarily: the Coptic and (as we soon shall see) the Syriac texts have them in a more appropriate place. They are: that a layman may teach, all being taught by the Lord, that the Christians are to pray when rising, and if possible to hear a sermon, and that they are to be gentle masters to their servants.

Of the Praying of those hearing the Word.

(17.) 12. When the teacher has ceased exhorting, let the catechumens pray by themselves apart, and the faithful. And let the women stand praying in a place in

the church, apart by themselves, whether the faithful women, or the women catechumens. And when they conclude praying, let them not give the salutation before they have become pure.

Let the faithful salute one another, the men with the men alone, and the women with the women. But let not a man salute a woman. And let all the women *not* cover their heads with a pallium[1], but with a fine cloth of cotton alone, for this is their veil. Can. 43.

Of the Laying of Hands upon the Catechumens.

(18.) 13. When the teacher after the prayer shall lay *his* hands upon the catechumens, let him pray, dismissing them:[2] whether he be an ecclesiastic or a layman who delivers it, let him do thus.

[3]If a catechumen hath been apprehended for the name of the Lord, let him not hesitate concerning the testimony; for if it has come to pass, that they have taken him by violence, that they

This and the remaining chapters of the present section are peculiar to the Coptic. They bear upon them the stamp of high antiquity, and betray here and there evident marks of the Egyptian superstition, and Alexandrian mysticism. The Egyptian superstition shows itself in the dread of the power of the demons, as the concrete fear of the unknown divine element in nature. The Alexandrian mysticism which manifests itself in the these ordinances, is a compound of Judaism and the original religion of the country.

[1] The *Pallium* (Copt. pallin, instead of *πάλλιον*) must mean a large and costly veil: thus pallium is used by Prudentius in the sense of *velum*. Tattam has Ballin (the Arabic mode of writing), and adds: "What kind of covering it means, I do not know."

[2] A precious remnant of the primitive Apostolic privilege of every member of the congregation to teach and to pray.

[3] This alludes to the celebrated *baptismus sanguinis*, the baptism in blood.

may kill him, he will be justified in the forgiveness of his sins, for he will have received baptism in his own blood. Can. 44.

Of those who shall receive Baptism.

(19.) 14. [1]And when those appointed to receive baptism have been chosen, *and* when their life has been investigated, if they have lived in chastity during their catechumenship; if they have honoured the Widows, if they have visited the sick, if they have fulfilled every good work;[2] and if those, who introduced them have witnessed to them that they have done thus, let them hear the Gospel. And at the time when they shall be separated, let hands be laid upon them in that day, and let them be exorcised.

[3]And when the day approaches in which they shall be baptized, let the Bishop exorcise each one of them, that he may know that they are pure. But if any one is not good, or is not clean, let him be put apart, that he

[1] This refers to the latter stage of the preparatory training of the catechumen. It is the finest specimen of the earnestness of the ancient Church to see that baptism should not be a mere form.

[2] After the good testimony given to them by the brethren able to observe and judge of them, the catechumens become Hearers (Ἀκροαταί, Auditores). The Coptic Church knows only these two stages: the later Church has generally three classes.

[3] Immediate preparations before baptism are, purification and exorcism (by the Bishop laying his hands on the catechumens).

may not hear the word with the faithful; for it is not possible that a stranger can ever be concealed. Let them teach those appointed for baptism that they should wash and be made free (clean?); that they should be made *such* on the fifth sabbath (after Easter). And if there is a woman who is after the custom of women, let her be put apart, and let her receive baptism another day.

[1]Let those who shall receive baptism, fast on the preparation (vigil) of the sabbath.

[2]But on the sabbath when those who are to receive baptism have been gathered together in one place, by the advice of the Bishop, let them all be commanded to pray, and to kneel; and when he has laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise every strange spirit to flee from them, and not to return into them from that time. And when he has finished exorcising, let him breathe on them; and when he has sealed their foreheads, and their ears, and

[1] Fasting on the Parasceue (as the Coptic word is) of the Sabbath, that is to say, on the Friday.

[2] On the Saturday the Bishop prays with them, and laying his hands upon them exorcises them, breathes on them (as Christ on the Apostles), and seals their forehead, ears, and lips (with the sign of the cross).

the opening of their mouths, let him raise them up; and let some watch all the night, reading to them, and exhorting them. [1]And let those who shall receive baptism not receive any thing within *them*, but that alone which each one shall bring in for the thanksgiving; for it is becoming in him who is worthy, that he should bring in his offering immediately. Can. 45.

[1] Again a most primitive feature. They all bring with them their symbols, their offerings for the first communion and love meal with the faithful; and of this his contribution every one of them takes his food during the night from Saturday to Sunday.

Of the Celebration of holy Baptism.

(20.) 15. [2]And at the time of the crowing of the cock let them first pray over the water. Let the water be drawn into the font, or flowing into it. And let it be thus, if they have no scarcity. But if there be a scarcity, let them pour the water which shall be found into the font; and let them undress themselves, and the young shall be first baptized. And all who are able to answer for themselves let them answer. [3]But those who are not able to answer, let their parents an-

[2] The blessing of the water at the dawn of day.

[3] Here is the baptism of children (not infants) evidently as an exceptional case; for the instruction

swer for them, or one other numbered among their relations. And after the great men have been baptized, at the last the women, they having loosed all their hair, and having laid aside the ornaments of gold and silver which were on them. Let not any one take a strange garment with him into the water.

respecting the training is, as we have seen, general, and supposes that all catechumens are not only able to walk, but also to be instructed, and have indeed learned what is needful.

[1] And at the time which is appointed for the baptism, let the Bishop give thanks over the oil, which, putting into a vessel, he shall call the oil of thanksgiving. Again, he shall take other oil, *and* exorcising over it, he shall call it the oil of exorcism. And a Deacon shall bear the oil of exorcism, and stand on the left hand of the Presbyter. Another Deacon shall take the oil of thanksgiving, and, stand on the right hand of the Presbyter.

[1] Blessing of the oil. The peculiarity here is, that the oil is divided into two parts: the oil of exorcism and the oil of thanksgiving. The one is used immediately before, the other immediately after baptism.

[2] And when the Presbyter has taken hold of each one of those who are about to receive baptism, let him command him to renounce, saying: "I will renounce thee,

[2] The renunciation of Satan, after which the catechumen is anointed with the oil of exorcism.

Satan, and all thy service, and all thy works." And, when he has renounced all these, let him anoint him with the oil of exorcism saying: "Let every spirit depart from thee."

[1]And let the Bishop or the Presbyter receive him thus unclothed, to place him in the water of baptism. Also let the Deacon go with him into the water, and let him say to him, helping him that he may say: [2]"I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty, and in His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the quickener [the consubstantial Trinity, Τριὰς ὁμοούσιος]; one Sovereignty, one Kingdom, one Faith, one Baptism; in the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church in the life everlasting. Amen."

And let him who receives (baptism) repeat after all these: "I believe thus." And he who bestows it shall lay his hand upon the head of him who receives, dipping him three times, confessing these things each time.

[1] The immersion, and the public confession of the Christian faith in Father, Son, and Spirit.

[2] On this text and its history, see the Third Volume.

[1] And afterwards let him say again: "Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God the Father; that he became man in a wonderful manner for us, in an incomprehensible unity, by His Holy Spirit, of Mary the Holy Virgin, without the seed of man; and that he was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, died of his own will once for our redemption, rose on the third day, loosening the bonds (of death): he ascended up into heaven, sat on the right hand of his good Father on high, and he cometh again to judge the living and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom? And dost thou believe in the Holy good Spirit and quickener, who wholly purifieth *and* in the Holy Church?"

Let him again say: "I believe."

[2] And let them go up out of the water, and the Presbyter shall anoint him with the oil of thanksgiving, saying: "I anoint thee with holy anointing oil, in the

[1] This is the peculiar confession of the true faith respecting Jesus the Christ, and the Spirit. It is evidently later than the general baptismal pledge; but earlier than the incorporation of these particularities into the general creed, as second and third Articles.

[2] Anointment (on the head) with the oil of thanksgiving, after the immersion. This anointment is preceded by a solemn prayer of blessing.

name of Jesus Christ." Thus he shall anoint every one of the rest, and clothe them as the rest, and they shall enter into the Church.

[1]Let the Bishop lay his hand upon them with affection, saying: "Lord God, as thou hast made these worthy to receive the forgiveness of their sins in the world to come, make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and send upon them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will, for thine is the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, now and always, and for ever and ever." And he shall pour of the oil of thanksgiving in the hand, and put the hand upon his head, saying: "I anoint thee with the holy anointing oil, from God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit." [2]And he shall seal upon his forehead, saluting him.

[3]And he shall say: "The Lord be with thee." He who has been sealed shall

[1] The prayer of blessing over the baptized and anointed: the only formulary of prayer in this collection.

[2] The first kiss of peace.

[3] Now follows, immediately, the admission to the first communion. The baptized makes the responses,

answer: "And with thy Spirit." Each one doing thus with the remaining. And let all the people pray together. And all those who receive baptism shall be praying. Let them say, "Peace," with their mouths.

as a member of the congregation, and, as it were, its representative on this occasion. They say even the episcopal "Peace!"

[1]Let the Deacons bring the Eucharist to the Bishop, and he shall give thanks over the bread, because of the similitude of the flesh (σάρξ) of Christ; and *over* the cup of wine, because it is the blood of Christ, which was poured out for every one who believeth on him; and over the milk and honey mixed, for the fulfilling the promises to the Fathers, because he hath said: "I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey." This is the flesh of Christ, which was given for us, that those who believe on him should be nourished by it as infants; that bitterness of heart may be dissipated by the sweetness of the word. All these things the Bishop shall discourse to those who shall receive baptism.

[1] The offering (oblatio) of bread, wine, milk, and honey, brought before the Bishop, who says grace over them (thanksgiving), and explains the meaning.

[2]And when the Bishop has now divided the bread, let

[2] The giving of the bread to the baptized.

him give a portion to each one of them, saying: "This is the bread of heaven, the body of Christ Jesus." Let him who receives it answer: "Amen."

[1]And if there be not more Presbyters there, let the Deacons take the cup, and they shall stand in order, that they may give them the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord, [2] and the milk, and the honey. Let him who giveth the cup say: "This is the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord;" and he who receives it shall answer: "Amen."

[3]And when these things have been done, let every one hasten to do all good things, and to please God, and to take care to live in integrity, being diligent in the Church, doing those things which they have been taught, proceeding in the service of God.

[4]But these things have been delivered to you briefly, with regard to the Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, since they have completely instructed you con-

[1] The distribution of the cup to the baptized, by the Presbyters and Deacons.

[2] The milk and the honey are given to them at the same time with the cup.

[3] He is thus received into communion with Christ and his Church, and is now exhorted to live according to his confession and pledge.

[4] This sentence is unintelligible in Tattam's translation, who places a full stop after "Holy Eucharist," and then continues in a new sentence: "And since they have ceased instructing you," &c.

cerning the resurrection of the flesh and all the remaining things, as it is written.

And if there be any other thing which it becomes us to make known, let the Bishop declare it diligently to those who shall receive baptism. But let not the unbelieving know, but him only who shall receive baptism first. This is the signet[1] which John said hath a new name written on it, which no one knoweth but him who shall receive the signet. Can. 46.

[1] Tattam: "white *stone*." It is an allusion to the Apocalypse.

C. *On the Taking of Bread and Wine in the Church, and on the Love-feasts* (Ἀγάπαι). Can. 47—52.

(21.) 16. [2]The Bishop must always be ready to eat the bread, if any one shall wish "to have something in the church." Whereas, all others may fast when they will, he, the Bishop, is not able to fast except on a general fast-day. He will eat the bread, and the rest of the faithful with him. "Let them receive from the hand of the Bishop a portion of the same bread, before each one shall divide

[2] Original and primitive. It shows the custom of the time of the Apostles. As to the Love-feasts, they are supposed to take place in a private house. The Bishop or another member of the clergy being generally present, every one brings his own portion (as συμβολή) with him. But, besides these Love-feasts, simple bread and wine, with thanksgiving, may be any day taken in the church, under the presidency of the Bishop. Every body is supposed to give thanks himself before he eats. Only the celebra-

the bread which is for him: "for this is a blessing, and is not a thanksgiving like the body of the Lord" (47.) Before they drink they must say grace over the cup (εὐχαριστεῖν). The catechumens receive also bread and wine, but separately; the bread they receive is called "the bread of exorcism." (48. 49.) [1][But they are not to partake of the Lord's Supper with the faithful.] "Let every one eat and drink with moderation. If they have given to you all the portions together, thou shalt come bearing thy part alone. And when you have been called to eat, you shall eat only what sufficeth you; that what remains may be disposed of by him who has called you, as he pleases, so that it remains for the saints[2], and he will rejoice in your entering in unto him."

Either the Bishop or one of the clergy is supposed to be present at such a dinner δεῖπνον), and in that case blesses those who are present: laymen may also preside, but give not the blessing.

tion of the communion of the body and blood has become separated from this eating of bread and wine, and from those Love-feasts. That separation took place very early, most likely in St. John's time. (See "Theses on the Eucharist.")

[1] A clause inserted against misunderstandings, when that custom had become obsolete. The next treats of the Agapes as meals.

[2] Faithful; Tattam, for "the holy."

ing: but every one prays for himself. If there be Widows ministering to a clergyman, they may come with him, and are to be sent home early. If the clergyman be prevented from attending, let him give them to eat, and some wine at home. Can. 50—52.

D. *On the First-fruits and their Blessing.*

(22.) 17. [1]Of the vine, figs, pomegranates, olives, prune, apple, peach, the cherry and the almond, the first-fruits are to be given to the Bishop, who blesses them: of flowers, only the rose and lily. Can. 53—54.

[1] Quite original, primitive, and national. Compare Apll. Constt. book IV. No. 8., and book VIII. ch. XVIII

E. *On the Fast before Easter.*

(23.) 18. [2]Let every one take care not to celebrate the Passover before the proper time (after the equinox), otherwise he would infringe the fast. If any is not able to fast two days, let him fast on the sabbath (Easter-eve). If any one is on sea, and does not know the time of Easter, let him keep his fast (in the

[2] An original but obscure form of enjoining the fast before Easter. The quadragesimal fast (which the Greek Constitutt. prescribe, book V. No. 13., book VII. No. 3.) is not mentioned, but a rigid fast before Easter is certain. That after Pentecost (which is named in the passage of the fifth book) is expressly alluded to. The drift of the whole supposes the opposition to the Jewish celebration on the 14th Nisam, whether

week) after Pentecost. Can. 55.

on a Sunday or another day, and whether the equinox was past or not. Each may therefore be in the first or in "the second" month mentioned in the canon, viz. April.

F. *On the Visitation of the Sick by the Bishop.*

(24.) 19. [1]The Deacons [and Subdeacons] are to inform him of the sick persons in the congregation, that he may console them by his visit. Can. 56.

[1] This regulation also supposes that the Bishop is the rector of a town or borough.

G. *On the early Morning Prayer, and Meeting.*

(25.) 20. [2]*Prayer at rising.* — The believers ought to pray before they go to their work: if they can hear a word of instruction before they begin their work, let them go to it. Can. 57.

[2] Almost identical with canon 62.

(26.) 21. *On the Partaking of the Eucharist before any other thing is tasted.*

[3]Let every believer hasten to partake of the Eucharist before he tasteth of any other thing. [For, if they are believers in it, if any one hath given him, receiving it, deadly poison, it shall have

[3] This is manifestly one of the most ancient canons. It supposes the rite alluded to by Pliny, for which we hitherto had no direct evidence, except Tertullian's *cœtus antelucani*, the communion of the early Christians at daybreak ("mane.)" That the

no power over him.] (58.) Let no unbeliever or animal eat of the body of Christ. (59.) "For if thou hast blessed the cup in the name of God, and hast partaken of it, like as of the blood of Christ, keep thyself with the greatest care: spill not of it, lest a strange spirit should lick it up, that God may not be angry with thee, as having despised it, and thou shalt be guilty of the blood of Christ by thy contempt of the price by which thou wast purchased." Can. 60a.

concluding sentence is of later date seems to me not doubtful, although it is impossible to prove it: such an application of the words in the addition to St. Mark's Gospel is not primitive. The continuation of this interpolation, which forms now the beginning of canon 60., with the genuine part of which it has nothing to do, betrays its origin still more clearly. The "strange" spirit is, besides, quite Egyptian.

(27) 22. [1] *Duty of Presbyters and Deacons at these early Meetings.*

They are to attend daily at the place of meeting, wherever the Bishop has fixed it: they are to collect all (that is brought for the communion and common meal, and for the poor): "and then, when they have prayed, let each one proceed to the employments appointed him." Can. 60b.

[1] The present title of the canon, "Because it is not becoming to pour anything from the cup," refers to the interpolation, which begins in the preceding section.

Our restoration completes the picture of the most ancient meetings of the Christians at daybreak, and supposes meetings, not in a church as a fixed place, but in private houses (κατ' οἶκον, in the Acts).

H. *On Burials.*

(28.) 23. [2] The graves to

[2] Original.

be dug by the poor, who are to be paid for it. The Bishop is to support those who have the care of the cemeteries. Can. 61.

I. *On Times for Prayer.*[1]

(29.) 24. First, early at rising, after washing of hands before prayer; if possible, in the congregation whenever there is an exhortation.

[2]"It shall be given to him who speaks, that he shall declare things useful to every one, and thou shalt hear the things thou thinkest not, and thou shalt profit by those things which the Holy Spirit shall give to thee by the exhortation; and thus thy faith shall be established by those things which thou hast heard. And they shall speak to thee again in that place of those things which it becomes thee to do in thy house. Therefore, let every one hasten to go into the church, the place where the Holy Spirit stirs up."

[3]If there is no exhortation, let every one take a book in

[1] Almost identical with canon 57. in its first part. This is the identical canon which Ps.-Hippolytus and the common Greek text of book VIII. have as an appendix to the canons respecting the catechumens.

[2] What now follows is an original Egyptian appendix, entirely different from the style and character of the ancient canons. It is an enlargement upon the concluding words of the old general canon, about the importance of not missing the opportunity of hearing a Christian exhortation or homily.

[3] This enlargement fills six pages, and is probably extracted from

his house, and read what is useful.

Bless God at the third hour (9 o'clock, in spring and autumn), at least in the heart: it is the hour at which Christ was nailed to the cross.

Pray again at the sixth hour: the hour when there was darkness.

Pray a great prayer at the ninth hour, in which Christ's side was pierced. Pray before thou restest thyself; and if thou awakest, at midnight, washing thy hands. If thy wife is an infidel, pray alone, and return to thy place. [1] "Thou who art bound in marriage, refrain not from prayer, for thou art not defiled. For those who have washed have no need to wash again, for they are purified and are clean. And if thou breathest in thy hand, sealing thyself with the breath which shall come out of thy mouth, thou shalt be all clean to thy foot, for this is the gift of the Holy Spirit. And the drops of water are the baptismal

an early homily on the subject of the Alexandrian school, tinged with Oriental mysticism of nature, but with grand and sublime passages. The meditation on the death of Christ, and on the inward religious voice of the human heart and conscience, is the centre of the whole contemplation.

[1] A sublime antithesis to Jewish and Mahommedan ideas of purification: the words, as every one sees, refer to those of Christ to Peter in St. John, at the washing of the feet of the Apostles. Also what follows about the breath is taken from St. John, xx. 22. It is mysticism, but such as rests on ethic, not on magic or fetish, ground. The appeal to the majestic worship of nature, praising God in the deep silence of night, is sublime and original. At the end it is said, that whoso shall follow these traditions of the Apostles will not be seduced.

drops coming up from the fountain, that is, the heart of the believer, purifying him who believeth. It becometh all to pray at that hour (of midnight), for in that hour all creation is silent, praising God." And the Apostles have taught us thus to pray, and Christ saith: "In the midst of the night there was a cry: Behold the bridegroom cometh," &c. Pray, also, if thou shalt rise at the cock's crowing, because at that time the children of Israel denied Christ.

Then comes a further scriptural and theological explanation.

Conclusion of the second book, "which is book the third."

Many doctrines (*αἱρέσεις*, heresies) have gained ground, because those who preside (*προϊστᾶν, οἱ προεστῶτες*, the Bishops, as the rectors of the Churches are often called in the Greek Constitutions) are not willing to learn the doctrine (*αἵρεσιν*) of the Apostles. This also shows the identity of *Διδαχὴ* (or *Διδαχαὶ*) *Ἀποστόλων*, and *Διατάξεις Ἀποστόλων*; because this work is repeatedly called in the text the *Διατάξεις* or *Διαταγαί* of the Apostles.

Book the Third (Fourth). Can. 63.

(Hippolytus) *On the Gifts and Ordinations* (*χαρίσματα καὶ χειροτονίαι*).

[1]On the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the sacred Offices of the Church.

[1] Literal translation of the Introduction to the Constitutions of Pseudo-Hippolytus, and book VIII. of Apll. Constitutions.

Book the Fourth (Fifth). Can. 64–72. (pp. 134–164.)

(30—45.) [1] On the office of Bishop, and on the other Offices of the Church.

[1] Literally agreeing with Apll. Constitutions, book VIII. ch. 2—27.; and therefore in the main also with Ps.-Hippolytus, I.—XVI. Terminates with the provision for the ordination of a Bishop by one, in extraordinary cases.

Book the Fifth (Sixth). Can. 73—77.

[2] Continuation. (No general title.)

[2] All found in the eighth book, according to the purer text.

(46.) [3] (Introduction.) "The Bishop blesseth and, is not blessed," &c. Canon 73.

[3] Apll. Constt. VIII. 28. Ps.-Hippolytus, XVII. (The interpolated chap. 28. is wanting also in the Coptic.)

(47.) [4] On first-fruits. Canon 74.

[4] Apll. Constt. VIII. 30. Ps.-Hippolytus, XVIII. (Text literally agreeing with Ps.-Hippolytus.)

(48.) [5] On the sacred remains of the Eucharist. Canon 75[a].

[5] Apll. Constt. VIII. 31. Ps.-Hippolytus, XIX.

(49.) [6] On the work and holidays. Canon 75[b].

[6] Apll. Constt. VIII. 32. Ps.-Hippolytus, XX. (The catechumenic canons of this 20th chapter are those contained in the second book of the Coptic.)

(50.) [7] On the times and places for prayer. Canon 75[c].

[7] Apll. Constt. VIII. 33. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXI.

Apll. Constt. VIII. 34. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXII. The Coptic considers the whole of the canon 75[c]. as relating to the servants: it adds therefore at the end of 75. the canon: that believing men or

[1] On the commemoration of the Dead. Canon 76[a].

women cohabiting with slaves must separate; a canon which the other collections have not in this place.

[1] Apll. Constt. VIII. 42. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXIII. The Greek canons name this the third, the ninth, and fortieth day; the Egyptian the seventh and thirtieth, which is evidently provincial.

(51.) [2] On the Funeral Meals. Canon 76[b].

[2] Apll. Constt. VIII. 43. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXIV. The Coptic text speaks in the first part only of "Presbyters and Deacons;" in the second, "the Bishops and Presbyters" are named as the "chiefs in the Church after God, Christ, and Spirit," as in the Pseudo-Hippolytus and the Syrian canons: whereas the common text has here two Presbyters and Deacons.

(52.) [3] On those who are persecuted for the Faith, and flee. Canon 77[a].

[3] Apll. Constt. VIII. 44. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXV.

(53.) [4] That each is to remain in his station. Canon 77[b].

[4] Apll. Constt. VIII. 45. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXVI. (End of Apll. Constt. book VIII. and of Ps.-Hippolytus.)

BOOK THE SIXTH (SEVENTH). Can. 78, 79. (pp. 166–172.)

[5] Canons on the reception, instruction, and initiation of the Catechumens.

[5] The same canons which were given in the second book, only that here the text literally agrees with the Greek.

Apll. Constt. VIII. 32. Ps.-Hippolytus, XX.

Book the Seventh (Eighth).

The Apostolic Canons of the Eastern Church.

This book contains the 85 Apostolic canons of the Greek Church. As to the second part of this collection (can. 51—85.), the text agrees entirely with the official Greek text. But the former collection, or the part recognized by the Roman Church, has only the first 46 canons; and according to the numbering of the Latin translation of Dionysius Minor. The last four canons of Dionysius are wanting. For after canon 46. (Greek text, canon 38.), Penalty against heretical Baptism, follows immediately:

Canon 51. (Greek canon 43.) Against abstaining from Marriage, Flesh, Wine, &c.

Canons 47, 48, 49, 50. (Greek, 39, 40, 41, 42.) are therefore left out, and are indeed a later addition. Of these the first and three last are against irregularities in conferring baptism, as an additional strengthening of the prohibition and penalty of canon 46. (38.). Such an addition points to the time of Cyprian, or immediately after him. But the second and still later canon, 48. (40.), is an isolated addition. It is directed against a layman divorcing his wife, or marrying a divorced woman. Its awkward place shows it to be an interpolation posterior to the addition of the three baptismal canons; besides it supposes already a peculiar marriage law for the clergy. It may therefore have been added in the first quarter of the fourth century, immediately before the Nicene legislation.

RECAPITULATION.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF THE COPTIC COLLECTION OF APOSTOLICAL ORDINANCES.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of Compiler.
First Book.	Ethical introduction on the two ways. Can. 1—14. (Compare the Introduction to Book vii. of

Ancient Materials.	Additions of Compiler.
On the Offices and Ministrations of the Church. Can. 15—28.	the Greek Collection, and the Epistle of Barnabas.)
———	Exhortatory conclusion. Can. 29, 30.
SECOND BOOK.	
A. On the Ordination and Institution of the Bishops and Elders and the Ministrants of the Church. Can. 31—35.	
(The claims of the Confessors. Can. 34.)	The naming of the Subdeacon. Can. 36.
On the naming of Widows and Virgins. Can. 37, 38[a].	Additional remark on Virgins. Can. 38[b].
On the Gifts of Healing. Can. 39.	
B. On the first Admission, the Instruction, and Initiation of the Catechumens. Can. 40—46.	
C. On the taking of Bread and Wine in the Church, and on the Love-feasts. Can. 47—52.	
D. On the First-fruits and their Blessing. Can. 53, 54.	
E. On the Fast before Easter. Can. 55.	

Ancient Materials.	Additions of Compiler.
F. On the Visitation of the Sick by the Bishop. Can. 56.	
G. On the Prayer at rising, and on going to the early Eucharist if possible. Can. 57, 58[a].	
	Additional admonition not to let an unbeliever or animal eat of the Body, and not to spill the Blood of Christ. Can. 58[b], 59, 60.
Duty of Presbyters and Deacons to attend at these meetings, at the place fixed by the Bishop. Can. 60[b].	
H. On Burials. Can. 61.	
I. On Times for Prayer. Can. 62.	
THIRD BOOK.	On the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the Sacred Offices of the Church. Introduction to the Greek book VIII. (Ps.-Hippol.) Can. 63.
FOURTH BOOK.	
On Bishops and other Officers of the Church. (Book VIII. ch. 1—xvi. in the purer text.) Can. 72.	

Ancient Materials.	Additions of Compiler.
FIFTH BOOK.	
General character of the different clerical Offices. Can. 73.	This Book corresponds entirely with Chapters xvii. to xxvi. of the purer Greek text of the Eighth Book : only the great body of ch. xx. is here left out, and forms by itself the next book.
On First-fruits. Can. 74.	
On the sacred Remains. Can. 75[a].	
On the Work-days and Holidays. Can. 75[b].	
On the times and places for Prayer. Can. 75[c].	
On the commemoration of the Dead. Can. 76[a].	
On the Funeral Meals. Can. 76[b].	
On those who are persecuted for the Faith. Can. 77[a].	
On good Order (every one to attend to his business). Can. 77[b].	
SIXTH BOOK.	
On the first admission, the instruction, and the initiation of the Catechumens. (Ch. xx. of VIIIth Book of the purer Greek text.) Can. 78, 79.	

Seventh Book.

Contains *the Canons* of the Greek Church.

The Apostolic Constitutions of the Coptic Church represent two elements.

The one is substantially original: it is peculiar to the Church of Alexandria, and bears, in part, a very primitive character. The other agrees literally, or almost literally, with the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, but according to the purer text, as represented by the Oxford and Vienna MSS.

The memorable section regarding the Catechumens partakes of both. It exists in a double recension: the first, in the second book, has many interesting peculiarities; the second, which constitutes now the sixth book, agrees literally with the Greek text.

The original parts are all in the first two books, which afterwards must have been counted as three, probably subsequently to the insertion of liturgical formularies, after the chapter on the ordination of the Bishops, in the beginning of the second book. Books III. IV. V. agree with that part of the eighth book which treats on Ordinations and Ecclesiastical Offices (the Hippolytean portion). Book VI. gives the chapters of the second book on Catechumens, as it stands in our Greek text. Book VII. contains the 85 canons of the Apostles. The whole consists, therefore, of three independent collections, as the subjoined general view will show.

A. *The Original Collection.* Books I. II.

Book I.

(Ethic introduction of the Compiler.)

Offices and Ministrations of the Church.

Book II.

A. On the Institution of the Bishops and Elders, and the Ministrants of the Church.
B. On Catechumens.
C. On the taking of Bread and Wine in the Church, and on the Love-Feasts.
D. On the First-fruits and their blessing.
E. On the Fast before Easter.
F. On the Visitation of the Sick by the Bishop.
G. On the early Morning Prayer and Meeting.
H. On Burials.
I. On times for Prayer.

B. *The Collection corresponding to the Eighth Greek Book.* Books III.—VI.

Book III. (Hippolytus.) On the Gifts and Ordinations.

Books IV. V. On Bishops and on the other Officers of the Church.

Book VI. On the Catechumens.

C. *The Canons of the Apostles.* Book VII.

The division into eight books is entirely arbitrary: which proves, however, that, at the time when the compilation received its present form, the division of the Ordinances of the Apostles into eight books had become conventional and, as it were, typical in the Eastern Churches.

The progressive numeration of the ordinances themselves is still more arbitrary, and different in different manuscripts. In one case, a whole book forms one ordinance, or canon, but is indeed no ordinance whatever: for it contains a treatise, or homily. In the Coptic MS. the numeration ceases with can. 39., which terminates section

A. in Book II. The following numeration is taken from the Sahidic manuscript:

The number of the real canons, that is to say, distinct ordinances, amounts to about 50, or the original number of the "Canons of the Apostles;" and, even if the small paragraphs in the regulations respecting the Catechumens be counted singly, not to 80; and is, therefore, under the number of the Greek "Canons of the Apostles."

V.

THE UNPUBLISHED APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH.

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. W. Cureton, I have before me the translation of the Syrian Τάξεις, or Ordinances, as they are styled. These Canons are contained in one of the precious manuscripts of the Libyan Convent; it is numbered 12,155. among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum. This manuscript begins with a treatise entitled, "A Table of the Demonstrations of the Holy Fathers against various Heresies." Severus, the learned bishop of Antioch in the first quarter of the sixth century, is often quoted in it. Then follows a canonical collection headed: "Collection of all the Canons of the Holy Apostles, and of the sacred Fathers." Our Canons, under the title, "Τάξεις of the Holy Apostles by Hippolytus," begin at p. 196.

This collection of the Apostolic Constitutions is followed by the Canons of the Councils, and, in the first place, by "The Definitions (ὅροι, canons) of the Great and Holy Synod of the 318 Bishops, which was assembled in Nicæa, a city of Bithynia, in the year 636 of the æra of Alexander (A.D. 325)."

The Apostolic Constitutions represent, therefore, also in this collection of canons, the ante-Nicene Regulations and Ordinances respecting ecclesiastical discipline and customs. The same arrangement is found in the Baroc-

cian MS. of the Bodleian library, from which Grabe copied the collection of canons which we have found connected in its beginning with the name of Hippolytus, and which exhibits a purer text of the eighth book of our Greek Constitutions.

We have already shown how much more lucid and intelligible the original composition of this eighth book becomes, as soon as we expunge the chapters which are found only in our present Greek text, as later interpolations. They disturb as much the natural order of the matters treated, as their contents bear the evident character of a later period.

This view is remarkably confirmed by the critical comparison of those two Greek texts with the Syrian Collection.

This collection contains, in our MS., thirty-seven canons. But, if we look to the contents themselves, we are easily enabled to divide it into six parts of very different extent. The first five chapters contain the real ordinances, and the sixth is a concluding general admonition. The five chapters correspond, in general, to the present Greek text of the eighth book, from chapter 27. to the end (chap. 46.), but, as we shall see, in a somewhat different order; and to sections XVI. to XXVII. in the purer text.

The Syrian Church, therefore, ignores, not only the introductory treatise on the Charismata, which we believe to be copied or extracted from Hippolytus, but also the regulations respecting the election and ordination of the bishops, and the ordinations and appointments to the other offices of the Church, which occupy the preceding paragraphs of the eighth book. It is scarcely necessary to say, that it repudiates the interpolation of the liturgy, which, in the present text of the eight books, separates the

regulations respecting the bishop, and those regarding the other officers.

As to what follows, the relation of the Syrian and the Greek texts is the following :—

Syrian Text.	Greek Texts.	
	The Oxford and Vienna Text.	The Text of Book VIII.
A. *On the Officers of the Church, and their sustentation.*		
Canon 1. A Bishop to be ordained by two or three Bishops.	XVI.	Ch. 27.
2–9. The distinct functions of the different officers of the Church. "The Bishop blesseth, and is not blessed," &c.	XVII.	Ch. 28. [Ch. 29. for blessing water and oil.]
10, 11. The part of the Clergy in first-fruits, tithe, and the sacred remains.	XVIII. XIX. (XX. is that regarding the Catechumens.)	Ch. 30, 31.
B. *Rules for domestic Christian life, and the domestic relations.*		
12. The faithful man and woman, when risen in the morning, and having washed, are to pray at home, unless they can hear the word preached.	XXI.	Ch. 32. (The end: the preceding part of the chapter contains the regulations on the Catechumens.)
13. They are to behave gently to their servants.	XXII.	
14. The servants are to work five days in the week.	XXIII.	Ch. 33.

Syrian Text.	Greek Texts.	
	The Oxford and Vienna Text.	The Text of Book VIII.
Canon 15. The times for saying prayers.	XXIV.	Ch. 34.
16. The faithful not to pray together with the Catechumen.		
17. A faithful male and female slave, living together, are to marry or to separate.		[Ch. 35–41. Forms of prayers.]
C. *Ordination respecting the commemoration of the dead and funeral meals.*	XXV.	Ch. 42, 43.
18. The days of commemoration.		
19. Funeral meals: the *presbyters and deacons*, as the highest authorities in the Church, after God and Christ, are to be models of temperance.		Ch. 44.
20. D. *On the duties towards those who are persecuted for the faith.*	XXVI.	Ch. 45.
E. *On good order in the Church.*		
21, 22. Every one to do the duties of his office, and not to entrench upon those of others, (Instead of Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἡμῶν, the Syrian text has, "of Christ and our God."	XXVII.	Ch. 46. (End of the Greek text.)

Syrian Text.	Greek Texts.	
Canon	The Oxford and Vienna Text.	The Text of Book VIII.
At the end, where in the Greek texts Melchisedec and Job are named as priests without human ordination, the Syrian text reads "Melchisedec and *Jacob*," evidently an error.)		
F. *On the reception, instruction, and initiation of the Catechumens.*		
23 – 37. Corresponding, with a slight transposition of phrase in the 30th Canon, verbally with - - - - -	XX.	Ch. 32.
Ending with the beautiful sentence: "If the teacher be even a layman, but one who knows the doctrine, and is grave in his character, let him teach: for 'they shall be all taught of God.'" (John, vi. 45.)		

We see clearly that the section on the Catechumens, which bears so distinct a character of antiquity and genuineness, must have existed separately This is the explanation of its being placed differently in collections which, otherwise, have their common materials placed in the same order.

A second consequence to be drawn from this comparison is, that the Syrian Collection must have been made at

an earlier time than even the purer Greek, or from an earlier collection. The whole first part of the ordinances of the eighth book is intimately and directly connected with the introductory treatise of Hippolytus on the same subject. The Syrian Collection, which is unacquainted with the extract from Hippolytus, is equally ignorant of this corresponding series of ordinances.

VI.

THE (UNPUBLISHED) APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS OF THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.

LUDOLF published, in his commentary to the work on Abyssinia, a general account of the old canonical collections of the Church of that country. It is known that this offshoot of the Alexandrian Church was planted in the latter part of the fourth century, and received its final organization in the fifth. In comparing these collections with the Greek text, we find that they contain, first, the 85 canons, which here are divided into 56 paragraphs. Then follow the "Apostolic Precepts," which are those contained in the Coptic, although with some special differences. Of these, the most remarkable is in the place where the newly ordained bishop is ordered to say, after the Preface (Sursum corda, &c.), the "prayers following these, according to the form of the Holy Communion." In our Coptic text, nothing is said respecting this form. But the Abyssinian text has here a liturgy, so short, and so different from the type of the fifth century, to which alone our present complete liturgies of the Oriental Church reach, that its relatively higher age cannot be doubted. We shall treat of this in the notes to the text-book of the ante-Nicene Church in our Third Volume.

The copy made for Ludolf out of the great and most important Abyssinian MS., now in the Vatican library,

which contains the complete collection of the canonical books of Abyssinia, stops short only two paragraphs beyond this Order of the Communion, which forms the 21st canon, or paragraph. It therefore gives us only the first 33 paragraphs of the Coptic text published by Tattam.

Then follow the "Canons of Abulides," which is the name of Hippolytus in Abyssinian, as their calendar shows. He is there named "Bishop of Rome, and Doctor of the Church."

There can now no longer be any doubt as to the originality of this part of the Abyssinian Collection, although at first sight the title of "Canons of Abulides" might render it probable that they were another version of the same original text as the Syrian, which bears the name of Hippolytus. Indeed the number of the chapters is almost the same. But we have seen how arbitrary and whimsical this numeration is. Moreover, the comparison of the titles of the first fifteen Ethiopic canons with the Syrian Collection shows, that, if they represent any series of the Eastern Churches, it cannot be that of Antioch. If they correspond with any other collection, this can only be that first part of the eighth book which is, as we just have seen, unknown to the Syrian canons.

We exhibit, first, the titles as given by Ludolf: for, unfortunately, he has contented himself with translating these titles from the French of Vansleb.

Ethiopic Canons of Abulides.

1. De sancta fide Jesu Christi.
2. De ordinatione Episcopi.
3. De orationibus quæ dicuntur super episcopis ordinandis, et de ordine Missæ.
4. De ordinatione Presbyterorum.

5. De ordinatione Diaconorum.
6. De iis qui persecutionem propter fidem patiuntur.
7. De electione Anagnostæ et Subdiaconi.
8. De dono sanandi.
9. De Presbytero, qui in loco muneri suo non convenienti manet.
10. De iis, qui se ad religionem Christianam convertunt.
11. De eo qui idola fabricat.
12. Studia varia enumerantur, quorum cultores ad religionem Christianam ante pœnitentiam factam, admittendi sunt.
13. De loco quem summi reges aut principes tenebunt in templo.
14. Quod Christianis non conveniat arma ferre.
15. De opificiis quæ Christianis illicita sunt.
16. De Christiano qui servam matrimonio sibi jungit.
17. De fœmina libera.
18. De Obstetrice; et quod fœminæ debeant esse separatæ ab hominibus in oratione.
19. De Catechumeno qui Martyrium aut Baptismum patitur
20. De Jejunio feriæ quartæ et sextæ et de quadragesimæ.
21. Presbyteros una cum populo quotidie in Ecclesia convenire debere.
22. De Hebdomade Paschatis Judæorum; et de eo qui Pascha non novit.
23. Unumquemque teneri *Doctrinam* addiscere.
24. De cura Episcopi in ægrotos.
25. De eo cui injuncta est cura ægrotorum; et de tempore quo orationes peragendæ.
26. De tempore quo exhortationes audiendæ.
27. De eo qui singulis diebus templum frequentat.
28. Fideles nihil comedere oportere ante Sanctam Communionem.

29. Bene observandum esse ne quidquam de calice in terram cadat.
30. De Catechumenis.
31. Diaconum Eucharistiam cum permissione Episcopi aut Presbyteri populo administrare posse.
32. Viduas atque virgines assidue orare oportere.
33. Mortuorum fidelium commemorationem singulis diebus faciendam, excepta die Dominica.
34. De modestia secularium in Ecclesia.
35. Diaconos Benedictionem et Gratias dicere posse in Agapis, cum Episcopus præsens non est.
36. De Primitiis terræ; et de Votis.
37. Cum Episcopus S. Synaxin celebrat, Presbyteri illi assistentes Alba vestiti esse debent.
38. Neminem dormire debere nocte Resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

In comparing these canons with those of the purer text of the eighth book, the *first* section evidently comprises canons 1—9. These treat on the ecclesiastical offices, and apparently in an order analogous to that exhibited in Pseudo-Hippolytus, canons I.—XVII.; only that the ordinances respecting the ordination of the Subdeacon — a later interpolation — are not found in the Ethiopic series.

The *second* section (canons 10—19.) contains, evidently, regulations respecting the admittance, institution, and instruction of the Catechumens. The 13th canon, "On the place where the highest Kings are to be seated in the Temple," betrays the interpolation, as much by the contents, as by the place.

As to the Catechumenic Canons, there seem to be two sets. The first, from canon 10. to 15., appears to be identical with, or at least must be analogous to, that remarkable chapter on the subject which all other collections exhibit.

Canons 16. to 18. may be quite alien to the subject, and, in that case, are an intrusion; for canon 19., "On a Catechumen who suffers martyrdom before baptism" (blood-baptism), belongs to the canons regarding Catechumens or Martyrs. One of the same title is found in the fifth book of our Greek Constitutions.

The remaining canons (20—38.) seem to have originally formed one series, the *third*, the general character of which may be termed ecclesiastical; for whatever else is contained in them bears the character of a later insertion.

Canons 20—22. On the fast-days, daily meetings, and celebration of Easter.

Canon 23., apparently an intrusion, enjoins every one to learn the doctrine (Διδαχή), evidently these very canons.

The 24th canon, and the first part of the 25th, treat on the care of the sick. We see here how whimsical and fallacious the division of the paragraphs and the numeration of the canons are: for the second part of the paragraph numbered 25., attaching itself to canon 22., begins a long series of regulations concerning worship.

We may, therefore, safely assert that canon 24., and the first part of 25., are an intrusion in this place, that is to say, an awkwardly placed addition to a series of ritual regulations which go down to canon 32.

Canon 33. treats of the commemoration of the dead, on all days, Sundays excepted.

The remaining canons regard, likewise, regulations respecting the ceremonial, and devout and decent way of conducting the service: only canon 36. treats of first-fruits and vows, in an apparently disconnected manner; and the 37th canon is an evidently more modern regulation, merely ceremonial, in the sense of the later Church.

Thus much we may therefore say, in summing up the observations suggested by the titles, that these Abyssinian

Canons, although they must be of Alexandrian origin, are entirely distinct from the Coptic compilation, which, moreover, formed an integral part of the Abyssinian code. There are only the first two sections (on the Ecclesiastical Offices, and on the Catechumens) which may have the same text as the corresponding ones in Coptic and Greek. But there must have been, already in the third century, numerous compilations under that conventional title of fiction in the different Churches of the East: and why should one and the same Church, as the Alexandrian for instance, not have different collections coexisting, to be used *ad libitum*, for the practical purposes for which they were read and given to be read, and as records of antiquity, each containing some relics which were peculiar to it?

It is truly a shame, that, since Ludolf, no scholar and no Church has realized the earnest wish of this excellent and honest inquirer, that the whole text of that canonical collection should be copied and translated.

I have before me the translation of the first four canons, made at my request by Dr. Steinschneider of the Berlin University, who is now occupied with a learned catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. This scholar, celebrated for his vast knowledge of Jewish literature, had the kindness, before leaving Oxford, to send me this specimen of a translation of the Baroccian Arabic manuscript mentioned by Beveridge, and containing the Ethiopic Canons. There is, besides the Bodleian codex, another manuscript of this Arabic translation in the British Museum, but very illegibly written. The Rev. W. Cureton has collated Dr. Steinschneider's translation with this text, and I give it according to his revision.

The first paragraph is, as the title indicates, an introduction in praise of Christ; original, but of no interest.

Canon II.

Of the Bishops.

The Bishop is to be elected by all the people. He must be without blame, as it is written in the Apostle. Then, in the week before the ordination, if all the people say of him, We choose him, they shall pray over him, and say: O God, show thy love to him whom Thou hast prepared for us. And they shall choose one of the Bishops and one of the Presbyters, and these shall lay the hand upon his head, and pray.

Canon III.

Prayer on the ordination of a Bishop, and the way of celebrating the Communion.

Canon IV.

Of the Ordination of a Presbyter.

In the ordination of a Presbyter, every thing is to be done to him as in the ordination of a Bishop, with the exception of the placing on the cathedra: and they shall pray over him all the prayers of the Bishop, only omitting the name of Bishop: for the Bishop differs from the Presbyter only by the dignity of the cathedra, and of the ordination; for the Presbyter has not given to him the power of ordination.

The first section, therefore, has, textually, nothing in common with the corresponding section in the Coptic Canons.

As to the chapters respecting the admission of Catechumens (can. 10—15.), the Rev. W. Cureton has, at my

request, most kindly examined the Arabic manuscript of the British Museum before alluded to (Cod. Rich. 7,211.), in order to decide the question, whether this important section exhibits or not that ancient series of regulations which we find in all other collections. The research has confirmed the conjecture which I had formed on the subject. The chapter in question agrees essentially with that section.

Among the following canons, the 20th and 21st might, according to their titles, seem to refer to the two subjects which Jerome says were treated by Hippolytus: the Fasting on Saturday (as vigil), and the daily Communion. But Mr. Cureton's researches have proved that the first simply treats of the fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and in Lent, and the second treats of the daily meetings. Their text is as follows:—

Canon XX.

Touching fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and on the Days of Fast (Lent).

He who does more than this shall receive his reward; and he who transgresses this, except from illness or some urgent necessity, exceeds the canon and opposes God.

Canon XXI.

Touching the Assembling of the Priests and the People in the Church every day.

The Presbyters shall assemble in the church every day, and the Subdeacons and the Readers, and all the people, at the time of the cock-crowing, and they shall pray, and sing psalms, and read the Scriptures. . . . . .

And whosoever of the clergy shall be too late, if not being too far distant, let him be put aside.

The twenty-second canon treats, most probably, on the celebration of the Pascha, in the sense of the other canons now extant, that is to say, in an anti-Judaic tendency. But this canon is quite illegible in the MS. of the British Museum.

The question then arises, why the canons should be called the Canons of Hippolytus.

Here two answers may be given. They might bear that name either because they correspond, although with a textual difference, to the eighth book of our Constitutions, which opens by regulations respecting the ecclesiastical offices, and in general the whole ceremonial law, like the later *Pontificale;* a subject which Hippolytus had been the first to treat philosophically, and with learning and authority: or because they contain in other parts some articles laid down by Hippolytus in his work on the Charismata. This applies, for instance, to the 27th canon, which treats on the daily Communion. We know from Jerome, as has been proved above, that this very same point had been treated by Hippolytus.

I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing the hope, that this interesting collection may soon be published, either from the Arabic or the Abyssinian text, if possible as part of that general critical edition of all such collections to which I have endeavoured in these chapters to pave the way.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON:
SCOTTISWOODE AND SHAW,
New-street-Square.

00068176

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016